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If Truman hadn't dropped the bomb

NATIONAL REVIEW

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No Newt Questions–p.44

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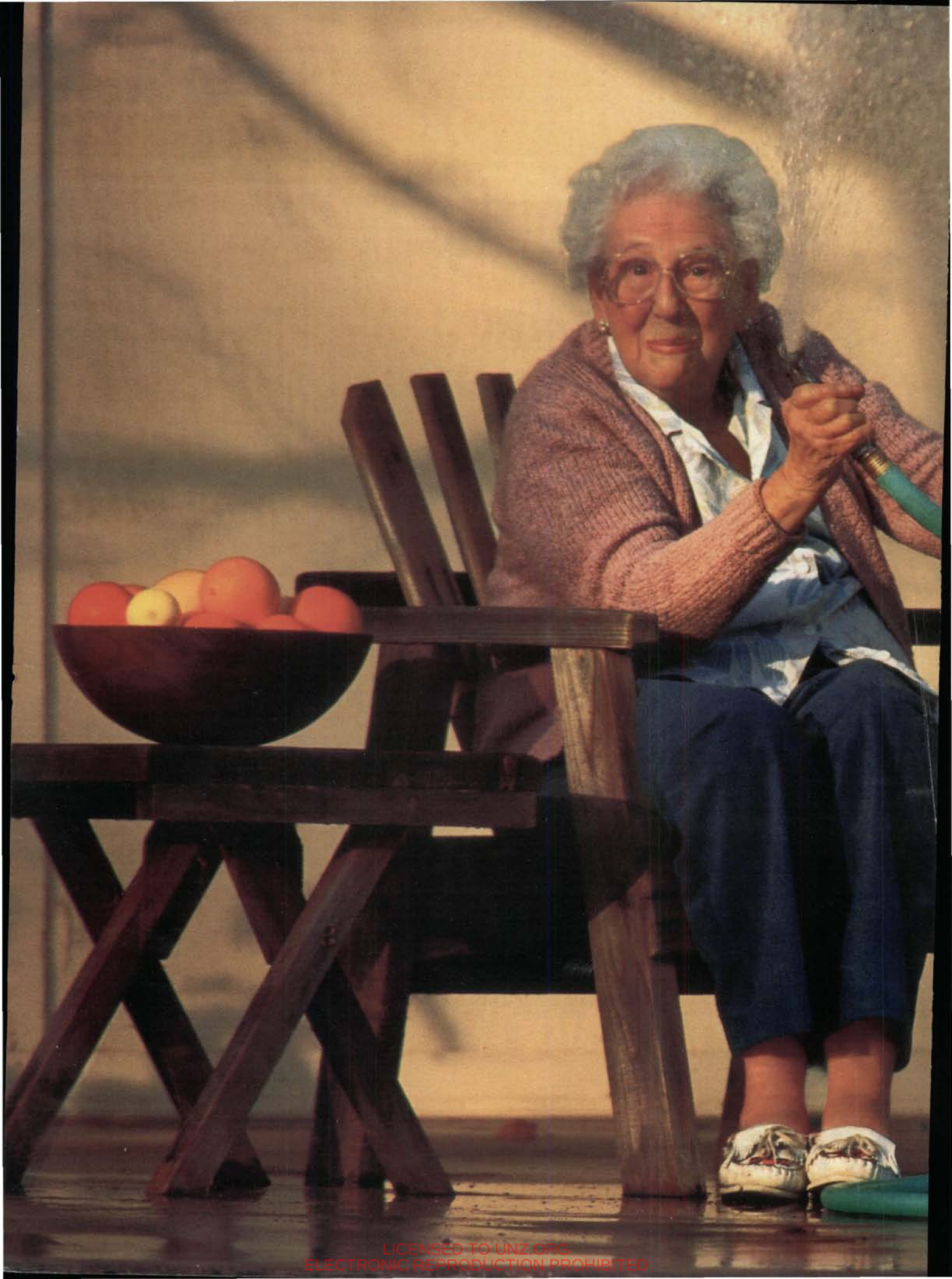

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n't die at 80 if you can
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"[illegible]living my teeth," she says.

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[illegible] part of the cure.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Cover by Alex Zwarenstein

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Letters

Aiming High

Barbara Lerner's "Aim Higher" [March 6] notes the irrelevance of self-esteem programs to the acquisition of academic skills. Public schools promote self-esteem programs, whole language, invented spelling, spiral and developmental learning, constructivist philosophies, multiculturalism, etc. Such programs are contrary to the longitudinal studies concerning what works in educating children. Dismal test scores confirm our nation's academic deficiencies.

The Department of Education does not disseminate the research on educational methods and programs that work, nor demand that counterproductive curricula be removed from schools. If the secretary of education will not, at least, use his bully pulpit to champion systematic phonics over the discredited whole-language (look/say) method of learning how to read, I see no reason for the department's continued existence.

By not speaking out against educational gimmicks that promote inaccuracy in reading, spelling, grammar, and computation, Mr. Riley is effectively endorsing these "innovative" curricula that don't work. When liberal educators start reading NATIONAL REVIEW, perhaps common sense will return to our schools.

Patricia A. Alspach
Farmington Hills, Mich.

Family Matters

"All in the Family" [March 6] by William Tucker was a great piece on the sociology of families. It delivered a clear message about how families have been formed in many cultures, including the pre-Civil War South. It presented a persuasive explanation of how AFDC has caused the breakdown of families, particularly black families, in the United States. But then the author proposed a solution which appears to be at odds with his analysis. He suggests extending some form of benefit to poor married couples who are over 21, who have completed high school, who have no illegitimate children, and at least one of whom has a job. Such couples may indeed merit a reward, but to reward them is hardly a solution to the problem that Mr. Tucker described so well. The solution must deal with the young mother, black or white, who already has an illegitimate child. If neither her parents nor the father are able and willing to take care of her and her offspring, then the new AFDC could give her some short-term help, perhaps for a year or two, perhaps in reducing amounts, after which either she would form a family with the father or another male, or the state would take over the care of the child in, if need be, a new-age orphanage. She would get no more aid for that child or any other.

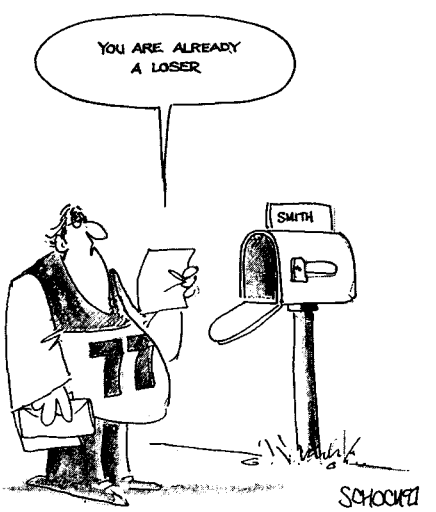
Mr. Tucker tells us, with examples from black history, that such a young woman has a good chance of finding a husband and forming a family even if the order of events isn't exactly what society views as ideal. She is the one that we must inspire to get married. Under current rules she may find a man and they may live together, but they remain "single" because if they married she would lose her AFDC payments. It would be better if her AFDC payments continued for a limited time, whether she married or not, and then stopped, whether she married or not.

Paul J. Allison
Spokane, Wash.

Editor's note: Letters of 300 words or less have a greater chance of being published.

Blood Feud

Amitai Etzioni overestimates the limits of his perspective ["Blood Simple," Feb. 20] and, undaunted by his immersion in an unfamiliar milieu, claims that his moral sense is deeply disturbed by the FDA's failure to approve a home collection kit for HIV. Mr. Etzioni believes that "preventing people from using the kit is morally indefensible" because the kit will help control the spread of AIDS by allowing people anonymity in learning if they are infected so that they will then "discharge their moral obligations . . . to inform others" if they are positive.



To test for HIV, blood is usually collected and tested in a laboratory, and the results are already confidential. Collecting the blood on a card and mailing it to a lab sounds simple, but, as with any test procedure, every step counts. If we change the procedure by asking the public to collect the blood, will that affect the results? For example, would people label the cards with their correct personal ID numbers, or would there be accidental (or intentional) mix-ups? Does it make any difference if the skin is dirty or clean? Or if there is a drop of water or soap or alcohol on the card? Or if the mail service bounces the specimen around, squeezes it, or exposes it to hot or cold temperatures? Is it safe, or even legal, to put HIV viruses in the mail this way?

In some businesses, the FDA is regarded as an unnecessary obstruction to marketing. Even medically, the FDA seems to deserve trashing at times. But with something as important as the diagnosis of AIDS, it seems curiously wrongheaded that Mr. Etzioni should devote so much moral indignation to promoting an inferior do-it-yourself approach.

George Nichols, MD
Appleton, Wis.

The FDA has been sitting on this procedure for seven years. I assume Dr. Nichols would agree that this gave them plenty of time to test the effects he asks about: whether the skin is clean or dirty, the mail service bounces or squeezes, etc. True, there is always some risk left, but meanwhile a lot of people are dying unnecessarily and that is well documented. —AE

Insurance Woes

It seems to me that Stuart Butler's "Patient Approach" [March 6], like most discussions of health care, misses the key cause of the problems with the current health-care system—namely the use of insurance for routine health care. Insurance should be reserved for catastrophic illness only.

Whether the individual pays for the insurance directly or gets it from an employer or the government, the results are the same. The system is overused for problems that are better taken care of at

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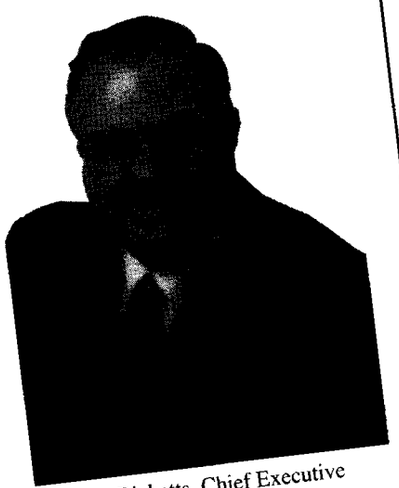

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home, administrative costs soak up millions, and worst of all, bureaucrats —whether government or insurance-company—make medical decisions that are properly the concern only of the patient and his doctor. HMOs are probably the worst in this last area since their primary concern is all too often cost and not what is best for the patient.

In my view the only way to correct these problems is a system of medical IRAs combined with insurance for catastrophic illness. Putting most of what is now spent on insurance premiums into individual tax-free medical accounts to be used only for medical expenses until retirement age, when they could also be drawn against for retirement, would put the individual in total control of his own health care and bring true market forces to bear upon cost and quality.

Continuing to use insurance for routine health care will never correct any of these problems no matter how the insurance is paid for.

Earle H. Comfort
Grandview, Mo.

Elites against Democracy

John Fonte's "Ill Liberalism" [Feb. 6] was an excellent exposé of what an elitist group is trying to do to American democracy through forced multiculturalism. The one bright spot is that, if the elite succeeds, we may have solved our long-term immigration problem. The analogy is the former Yugoslavia. Do you see long lines at the embassies of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia looking for entry visas? Do you see many illegal immigrants trying to enter the warring nations? The Balkanization of the United States would not be a pretty sight.

Amaury Piedra
Longmont, Colo.

Bang! Who's Dead?

You performed a great public service in printing the outstanding "Shot Down" by Don Kates Jr. and "Bad Guys, Bad Guns" by James Wright [March 6]. As a police officer, it is quite obvious to me that gun-control laws as enforced today are next to useless in combatting crime, for all the reasons stated in the two pieces.

Mr. Wright quotes the President's working group as saying that thousands of firearms purchases are prevented annually. What the government does not admit is the error rate in those denials. In Maryland, where a seven-day wait with background check has been established since the mid 1960s, there is an 86 per cent rate of wrongful denials. California's error rate is higher yet. If these two states with long histories of established check systems cannot do better than that, why should the rest of the nation be any more accurate? It's just another case of the Clinton Administration selectively choosing numbers to prove what it had predetermined would be the facts, regardless of the truth.

Bruce Blum
Gaithersburg, Md.

Canada First

Regrettably, your journal has fallen victim to the current Canadian Liberal government's misleading statements on immigration. "For the Record" [Dec. 5] stated that "Sergio Marchi has reduced immigration quotas by 24 per cent, citing heavy burden on health and social services . . ." If only that were true. A 24 per cent decrease would bring the current level of 230,000 immigrants per year down to about 174,800. In fact, Mr. Marchi has set the 1995 quota at 215,000, a reduction of only 6.5 per cent.

Canadians have been told that a greater emphasis will be placed on economic immigrants. In fact, the percentages for different categories of immigrants remain unchanged. The proportion of economic immigrants in 1994 was 43 per cent. In 1995, that number will remain at 43 per cent. The proportion of family-reunification immigrants was 51 per cent. In 1995, it will remain at 51 per cent. The category of "other," 6 per cent last year, will be a surprising 6 per cent this year!

The Reform Party has from its inception in 1987 clearly articulated its position on immigration. Its premise has been so radical as to simply advocate an immigration policy that places the needs of Canada as its starting point. With unemployment in the double digits it is our firm commitment that Canada's annual immigration should not exceed 150,000. A sound immigration policy that ultimately recognizes economic realities is beneficial to immigrants and Canadians alike.

Dennis G. Desrochers
Reform Party of Canada
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Mixed Legacy

I was disappointed by "J. William Fulbright, R I P" ["The Week," March 6]. *NR* states that Fulbright was consistent in his opposition to civil rights at home and implied that he was consistent in his opposition to "American imperialism" in Vietnam. This was not the case.

Early on, Fulbright backed our involvement in Vietnam; in 1964 he urged his fellow senators to give "immediate and unanimous approval" to LBJ's Tonkin Gulf Resolution. With a vote of 88 to 2, the resolution legitimized our military assistance to South Vietnam.

Somewhere along the way Fulbright's youthful idealism (cf. the Fulbright scholarships) slithered into cynicism. He once said: "What earthly difference does it make to nomadic tribes or uneducated subsistence farmers in Vietnam or Cambodia or Laos whether they have a military dictator, a royal prince, or a socialist commissar in some distant capital?"

Fond of castigating "American arrogance," he didn't hesitate to demand the ouster of Saigon's vice president, Nguyen Cao Ky, "if he does not do what the United States tells him to do." Ky promptly and correctly called Fulbright a "colonialist." J. W. Fulbright leaves us a mixed legacy.

Ernest W. Lefever
Chevy Chase, Md.

In God We Trust

In response to Professor Jaffa's view ["Letters," March 6] about the separation of church and state, I respectfully submit the following: "It cannot be emphasized too strongly or too often that this great nation was founded, not by religionists, but by Christians, not on religions, but on the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Patrick Henry). "The highest glory of the American Revolution was this: it connected in one indissoluble bond the principles of civil government with the principles of Christianity" (John Quincy Adams).

Frank L. Mabry
Las Vegas, Nev.

In a sermon before Governor John Hancock and the legislature on the inauguration in 1780 of the new Constitution of Massachusetts, the Rev. Samuel Cooper declared: "We want not, indeed, a special revelation from heaven to teach us that men are born equal and free; that no man has a natural claim to domination over his neighbors . . ." In saying, "When the Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires . . ." St. Paul recognized in principle the same "laws of nature and of nature's God" as our Declaration of Independence. They are founded upon right reason, and accessible to man as man, although both Christians and Jews believe them to be confirmed by revelation. —HJ

Long Live Miss King

During my year-end pursuit of catching up on my reading, I realized Florence King's brilliance. In "The New Hypochondriacs" [July 11] her description of liberals as morbid narcissists is dead on. She weaves seemingly unrelated aspects of society together to demonstrate the

(Continues on page 72)

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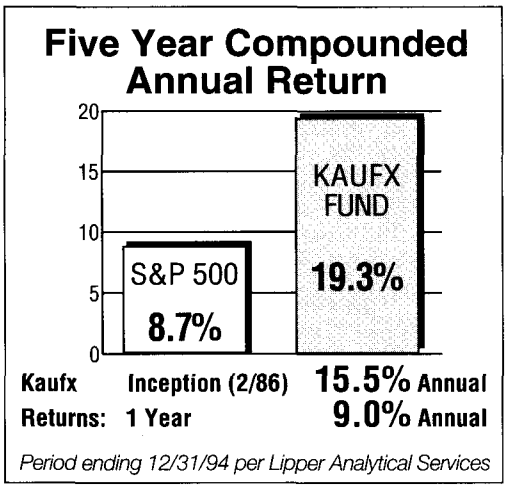

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FROM THE EDITOR

No Standard but the *Evening Standard*

■ I shall be sending Congressman Sam Johnson of Texas a copy of Michael King's fine article in this issue to encourage him in his struggle against the Moabites of the Smithsonian Institution. ("Moabite" is Robert Conquest's term to describe the false friends of culture, as against its open enemies, or "Philistines.")

Mr. King reminds us that even the larger estimates of Allied casualties in a hypothetical invasion of Japan do not include those who might have been killed liberating the other territories occupied by Japanese Imperial forces. It is startling to realize that four invasions—including *two* amphibious operations the size of D-Day—were at an advanced planning stage when the bomb forced a Japanese surrender.

At least it will be startling to the Smithsonian's historians, if Sam Johnson's robust lecture to the National Review Institute conference in Dallas is anything to go by. He painted a picture of an institution that reached instinctively for the anti-American viewpoint but, sensing in its dim bureaucratic way that this might be unpopular, sought to conceal its handiwork until the *Enola Gay* exhibition was an accomplished fact. Thus Mr. Johnson, though a regent of the Smithsonian, was persistently denied a copy of the exhibition text—although one had been sent to Japan for approval.

Twenty years ago, anger, derision, and astonishment would have been the universal reaction to this kind of thing—and they were indeed the responses of the NRI audience. But today there is also an entire *lumpenintelligentsia* which leaps to its defense.

And my own reaction has changed too. Now, I think: "Oh, yes. That's what I would expect."

■ Three disqualifying factors have been alleged in the case of Dr. Henry Foster. First, that he performed a number of abortions; second, that he performed sterilizations in ethically dubious circumstances; and third, that he knew about—but took no action to stop—the Tuskegee experiment.

My guess on all three points is that Dr. Foster was an able young doctor in too much of a hurry to question changing ethical standards.

And if my guess is right, common sense suggests that his nomination could not survive extended Senate hearings. So why did Senator Dole's chief of staff, Miss Sheila Burke, initially schedule the vote on his confirmation for the Thursday and Friday before the Easter recess, which would have meant hurried hearings and pressure to wrap up the nomination quickly? Put another way, why is Sheila Burke still Mr. Dole's chief of staff?

■ Rob Long, the TV sitcom writer, formerly with *Cheers* and now writing *Pigsty*, is the author of the immortal statistic: "One in three Hollywood conservatives goes on to become President of the United States." He dropped by *NR* last week to talk about television.

He pointed out that the moral cannibalism of talk shows like *Montel Williams* and *Jerry Springer*—e.g., mothers and daughters who sleep with the same boyfriend, or truck-stop prostitutes who bring their children to work—was becoming so unrestrained that somebody would soon get killed.

Right on cue, a male guest on the *Jenny Jones* show, who had been shocked when a promised admirer turned out to be a man, went to his house a few days later and shot him.

This extreme reaction suggests that the perpetrator was somewhat disturbed to begin with. But that hardly exonerates *Jenny Jones*. Such shows do not select their guests from the ranks of the balanced and respectable. Will this murder halt these freak shows? It is more likely to be seen in retrospect as a half-way point to the show which stages a murder on the air.

The prophetic Mr. Long may even be there to record that event. He has agreed to write occasional television reviews for *NR*. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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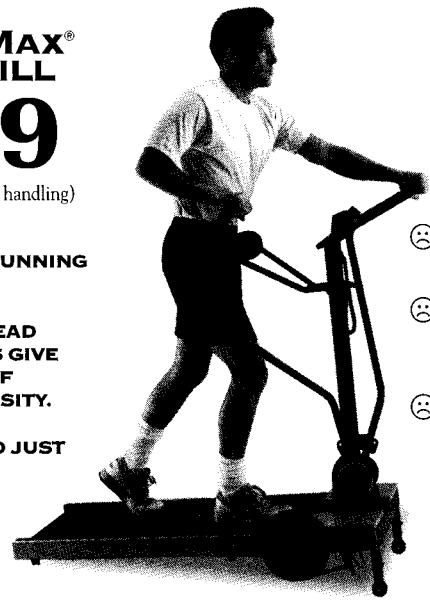

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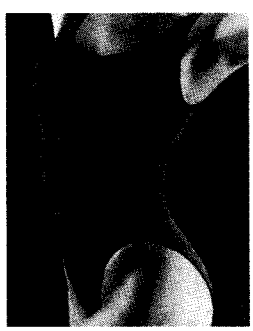

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Comment by **Clinton** political aide **Paul Begala** about '96—"The key to the re-election is the President's record. It doesn't matter who the operatives are"—brought hearty agreement from GOP Capitol Hill operatives. . . . Former Clinton congressional-relations chief **Howard Pastor** inadvertently confirmed that Dems fear Prez will be forced into politically destructive vetos if GOP Senate does not water down popular Contract with America measures already passed by House. In interview with *White House Bulletin*, Pastor predicted with satisfaction that Senate GOP liberals would kill much of Contract and smugly urged Majority Leader **Bob Dole** not to be "dictated to by the House." . . . Refusal by Sen. **Mark Hatfield** (R., Ore.) to vote with his party—which killed Balanced Budget Amendment—has led Sen. **Connie Mack** (R., Fla.) and others to turn heat on GOP dinosaurs. Sen. **Rick Santorum** (R., Pa.) is reminding GOP liberals they would not enjoy their current power if 11 freshmen hadn't gotten elected in strong pro-Contract tide. . . . Dinosaurs include Sen. **Pete Domenici** (R., N.M.), who was ally of then White House Chief of Staff **Jim Baker** in trying to get **Ronald Reagan** to make similar pre-emptive surrender to Dems in early Eighties by raising taxes, and who now wants to gut House's line-item veto bill; Sen. **Bob Packwood** (R., Ore.), who wants to obstruct tax cuts; Sen. **Larry Pressler** (R., S.D.), who favors a "stripped-down" (read: meaningless) version of hugely popular restrictions on greedy lawyers; and Sen. **John Chafee** (R., R.I.), who is opposing regulatory reform. . . . Chafee explains that former House members like Santorum just don't understand Senate: "They see these things they believed in for so long happening overnight—zing, zing, zing, Balanced Budget Amendment, line-item veto—and everything's swish, swish, swish. . . . I think they'll come to appreciate that this is a different place. The tools aren't there . . . It isn't something where the Speaker says, 'We'll finish this tonight, zing, zing.' "

■ Best quotes from Balanced Budget Amendment debate: Sen. **Robert Byrd** (D., W.Va.), complaining about GOP tactics: "This is no place for deal-making, back-room huddles. No wonder people have such a low estimation of Congress." And Sen. **Ben Highhorse Campbell** (R., Colo.) on why he changed parties after back-room huddles with Dems pressuring him to vote against amendment: "I didn't get elected to be a public doormat . . . if people think they're going to insult me and yell at me and scream at me and cuss at me . . . and I'm supposed to take it under the guise of a thick skin, to hell with that. I won't."

■ Conservative journalists wondering what is going on in Associated Press's Washington Bureau. No sooner was AP forced to send out embarrassing correction/retraction of wildly distorted story about role of Rep. **Christopher Cox** (R., Calif.) in legal-reform measures, than usually reliable wire service sent out similarly biased story saying "documents show" that House Speaker **Newt Gingrich** withheld vital information from House Ethics panel. Detailed denial, quoted in story itself, by Gingrich press secretary **Tony Blankley** blew its premise out of the water. So why is AP abetting smear campaign against Gingrich run by House Dems like **David Bonior** (Mich.), exposed in recent column by **Bob Novak**? One GOP House leader who wanted anonymity told *NR*: "We get the wires in our office and I read AP every day. It's the most biased reporting I've seen during the debate on the Contract."

"And forgive us our national debt."

■ Peking theater currently running drama about bitter succession struggle (2,300 years ago) after death of Emperor **Cao Cao**, whose bloody rule **Mao Tse-tung** much admired. Play seen as warning against chaotic infighting that may follow death of China's current Paramount Leader, **Deng Xiaoping**. . . . Bad boy of Russian politics **Vladimir Zhirinovsky** at it again; in visit to New Delhi said he opposes "artificial division of any country" and he urged Indians take over Pakistan and Bangladesh. . . . Col. **Vladimir Barkovsky**, former Soviet spy chief in Britain and America and now a consultant to Russian Intelligence Service, says "Perseus"—a still unidentified physicist who worked at Los Alamos laboratory in Forties—was as important to **Stalin**'s theft of U.S. atomic secrets as other famous turncoat-physicist, **Klaus Fuchs**. . . . **Maurice Strong**, Canadian businessman, co-chairman of Stockholm environment conference, and generally a friend to leftist causes, says he has Russian backing to succeed UN Secretary General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**, who has said he wants only one term. . . . Clinton Administration trial balloon about weakening sanctions against **Fidel Castro** blew up as Senate Republicans blamed NSC assistant **Morton Halperin** for leak to *Washington Post* and demanded his resignation.

■ **Jay Leno** says Canadians thought recent visit by former draft-evader Clinton an anticlimax: "They were expecting him in the Sixties." . . . Asked by CNN's **Larry King** if he would put a woman on his ticket, presidential hopeful Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R., Tex.) replied: "**Sophia Loren** is not a citizen." . . . And Hollywood reporter **Jeanne Wolfe** explains recent round of adoptions by stars in La-La Land: "Babies are very fashionable right now."

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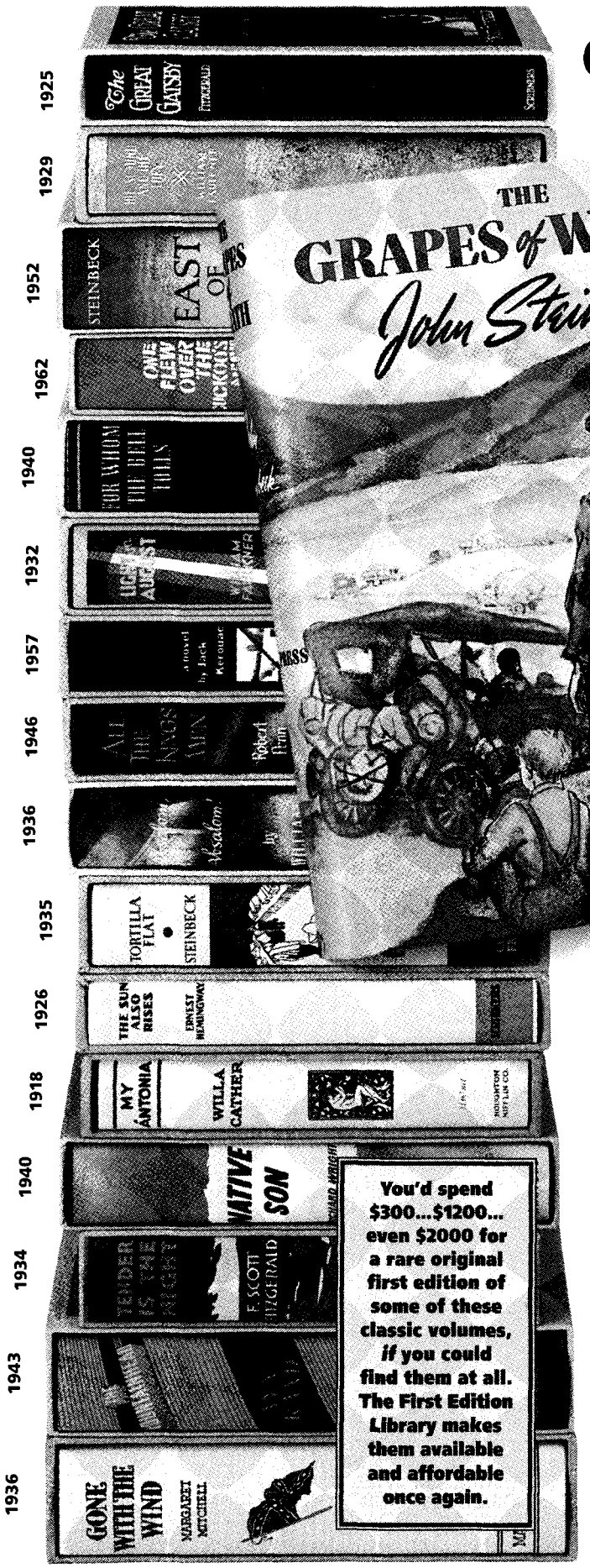

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THE WEEK

■ The Party of Dickens has spent the fortnight howling that all our children will starve, starve, *starve*. Let them eat hyperbole.

■ Officials of Queensborough Elementary School in Louisiana went so far as to have their charges write letters of protest to Congress. The school board brought that to a quick halt when it found out, but what do you do with administrators and teachers who exploit children for political purposes?

■ This might be the moment to recall a line from an ad by Hooked on Phonics: "We have a money-back guarantee. Don't you wish the schools did?"

■ The next Contract item to get the Senate treatment is the line-item veto. Senators John McCain (R., Ariz.) and Dan Coats (R., Ind.) sponsored a version of the veto identical to the one that passed the House 294 to 134. It commanded the support of about forty Senate Republicans and seemed the perfect vehicle for forcing Senator Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) and his crew to filibuster a popular idea supported by their own President. But Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici (R., N.M.) had other ideas. He championed a competing version of the veto so ineffectual—a simple majority in either House could block a presidential rescission—that even Byrd was amenable. Majority Leader Bob Dole, instead of muscling aside the Domenici diversion, seemed content to let it split Republicans and muddy their message—until the Balanced Budget Amendment loss. Dole now realizes he must avoid another intra-Republican debacle. So Republicans are close to a compromise that would preserve the integrity of the veto, while providing ground for a united fight. In the Senate, that's called progress.

■ Senator Mark Hatfield's vote against the Balanced Budget Amendment won't play well at home. Or so Oregon pols think. Democratic Representative Peter DeFazio, a BBA supporter who had ruled out challenging Hatfield, suddenly is open-minded. State Senate President Gordon Smith, who fancies himself heir to the moderate Hatfield–Packwood tradition, all but declared a primary challenge. And conservative Bill Witt, who came within a recount of defeating Democratic Representative Elizabeth Furse in 1994, now says he's looking seriously at the Senate. "It's not just the single issue" of the BBA, says Witt. "Mark Hatfield is resisting the entire agenda." It's time Oregonians hung up their Hatfield.

■ Representative Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.) recently called a press conference to decry the high price of breakfast cereal and call upon the Justice Department to investigate. He also demanded to know why the toy is always at the bottom of the box.

■ Senator Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.), new chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, spoke uncommonly good sense at the National Press Club on the issue of affirmative action. "You can't defend policies that are based on group preferences as opposed to individual opportunities." Such policies "have the effect of breaking some of those ties in civil society that have held us together, because they're patently unfair." Queried about the ballot initiative in California that would make racial preferences illegal, Lieberman called it "a statement of American values." The DLC is a proven launch pad, and Connecticut is a bigger state than Arkansas. Lieberman in '96?

■ Disdaining Newt Gingrich's television history course for *The New York Review of Books*, Garry Wills asks how common it is for a professor to "tell you in class, every class, sometimes several times in one session, that he is a professor?" Not common to tell you explicitly. But almost universal to tell you implicitly, by means of pedantry, jargon, needless erudition. Cf. Mr. Wills's *Under God*, which had 753 footnotes. If he'd broken 800, maybe he could have had his own TV course.

"Look, dear, he's going to be a politician!"

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■ Newspapers around the country are raising prices and dropping pages, citing as a major reason the cost of newsprint, which has soared from around $450 a ton last year to over $650 now. Fred Dawkins of Fletcher Challenge, a paper company in Vancouver, B.C., says much of the problem is that the paper industry in North America has been squeezed on all sides by "green" measures, which have hoisted costs and left little capital for building new capacity. New water-treatment plants (at $50 million per plant) and modifications to reduce the use of chlorine cost big bucks. So does recycling, which entails the expensive processes of collecting old newspapers and removing ink and other contaminants from them. Fletcher Challenge estimates that government recycling mandates alone have added between $75 and $100 per ton to the cost of making paper. If environmentalism has a chilling effect on free expression, will the courts finally move against it?

■ New York's immensely decent John Cardinal O'Connor has come out in opposition to welfare cuts because, he says, they will "inevitably" lead to many abortions. Inevitably? So the condom distributors speak when they try to throw the pious off balance rhetorically. Surely the way to reduce the number of abortions is not to reward casual pregnancies with welfare checks but to reward responsible pregnancy. Marriage, last time we heard, was still a sacrament.

■ In Oklahoma a black man is suing the maker of a CD-ROM encyclopedia he'd bought because it turned up references to the word "nigger"—mostly in the titles of books and articles. He had been searching for references to the Niger River but mistyped, leading, he says, to $40 million in emotional distress. Hope he doesn't read this.

■ At the neurotically PC University of Pennsylvania, a black student has filed a grievance with the Office of Affirmative Action after being denied entrance to a meeting of a campus political group, White Women Against Racism. Explaining the no-blacks-allowed policy of White Women Against Racism, a representative said, "We believe racism is a white problem." Can Penn be sued for $40 million in emotional distress?

■ Good news for NATO: The Administration has given a green light to the Central European democracies to purchase fighter jets, tanks, and other sophisticated offensive weapons. These countries have been eligible for U.S. military purchases (and U.S. aid to help pay for them) since the passage of Republican-sponsored legislation last year, but the go-ahead was needed for sale of more lethal equipment. Meanwhile, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgi Mamedov has reportedly informed U.S. diplomats of Russia's "terms" for accepting NATO expansion, including a peace treaty with Russia and a pledge not to deploy NATO forces eastward. These "terms" are unacceptable—Russia can have no veto on how NATO defends its members—but the overture suggests that level-headed Russians are focusing on how NATO will expand and have given up on trying to block it.

■ Apologies to our readers and to Minoo Southgate for the last-minute pulling of her article, listed on last issue's Contents page, to accommodate a late-breaking story.

■ More good news for NATO: The pressure on Secretary General Willy Claes to resign is growing, as Johan Delanghe, Claes's former *chef de cabinet*, was arrested in connection with payments by the Italian helicopter firm Agusta to the Belgian Socialist Party. Claes contends that he advised against accepting the money and that he did not know his subordinates had done so. If Claes is telling the truth, the fact that he did not know what was happening one level below him raises questions about his competence as the leader of the world's most important military alliance. Claes has a reputation for stubbornness, and is unlikely to resign unless he is forced to. So force him. We don't want the Czechs and the Poles to think they're joining a gang of crooks.

■ The Administration suffered another personnel fiasco when its choice for Director of Central Intelligence, retired Air Force General Michael Carns, had to withdraw because a disgruntled Filipino ex-employee charged him with violations of the immigration laws. The Administration can fairly be charged with incompetence here, since the problem had surfaced a while ago. On the other hand, General Carns was no Henry Foster, but a respectable man who would have been a respectable CIA director. If minor gripes continue to overwhelm more serious substantive merits in the personnel process, the appointees of future Presidents are sure to be harassed in a similar fashion. Decent nominees should not pay for the sins of their sponsors, or for venial sins of their own.

■ President Clinton has decided to drop the tag "V-J Day" from American commemorations of the Allied victory over Japan—this in order to stroke Japanese "sensitivities" over the war. The British are having none of it. "This was a victory over Japan," said Air Vice-Marshal Sir Bernard Chacksfield, chairman of the Burma Star Association. "There can be no flanneling about. We do not feel like being mealy-mouthed in commemorating a victory that was won at such cost in lives." President Clinton's refusal to use the term that has designated the event for half a century smacks of PC silliness at best, and self-induced historical amnesia at worst. The President should redirect his sensitivities to the generation that made them possible.

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■ President Clinton gave formal approval for Gerry Adams, leader of the political arm of the IRA, to raise funds in the U.S., and invited Adams to the White House for a St. Patrick's Day reception. All the Administration omitted to do was give him an 800 number. The British government, engaged for several months in an ambitious effort to construct a comprehensive peace in Northern Ireland, protested. "Terrorism has now been renounced by Chairman Arafat," said John Major while on a visit to the Middle East. "I have not seen it comprehensively denounced by Mr. Adams." If Major's efforts are misguided, how much more so is the Administration's recklessness, which bears the marks of Mr. Clinton's worst qualities in foreign policy—pandering to a domestic constituency; flouting the wishes of a key ally on a matter of utmost sensitivity. A terrible shoddiness is born.

■ Mr. George Clarke, chairman of the Washington, D.C., tax appeals board, seems to be getting just a bit of fuss for billing the city for $23,000 of his services. Other members billed by logging in at meetings. Mr. Clarke, however, was rarely at meetings, raising the churlish question, What services was he billing for? His office time, Mr. Clarke replied, including 17 weekend days, and he earned every penny of it, and what is D.C. government coming to, if you have to show up at work to get paid, grumble grumble.

■ Roger MacBride, who died on March 5, the only man ever to cast a vote for the Libertarian Party in the Electoral College, was also the guardian of Laura Ingalls Wilder's series of "Little House" books. As America pulls back from forty years of liberalism, the Libertarians may do better at the polls. And while much good could come of that, as in any rebound relationship there would probably be something . . . missing. Something like a reverence for family and community, celebrated historically as an essential part of the American experience. And nowhere more beautifully than in that house on the prairie.

■ How long can you be wrong? On Tuesday, March 14, the *New York Times* published its 50,000th edition.

Keep the Rope Handy

"I'VE NEVER asked anything from you in all these years," Senator Robert Dole implored his old colleague Mark Hatfield forty minutes before the key vote on the Balanced Budget Amendment. In response, Hatfield told Dole: "I'll pray on it." Then he voted against the BBA, handing Democrats a handsome victory. Dole said later that this was the most important vote in thirty years, and he could not understand Hatfield's failure to be responsive to both the GOP Senate leadership and the national party. "What's wrong with sending it out to the states, including Oregon?" Dole asked angrily.

Shortly after the failed vote, a move to strip Hatfield of his Appropriations Committee chairmanship started within the Republican Senate Conference, led by Whip Trent Lott and Conference Secretary Connie Mack, and freshman Rick Santorum (Pa.), and Spence Abraham (Mich.). The vengeful were angered not only by Hatfield's nay vote, but also by his willingness to retain committee staffers who had been appointed by former Chairman Robert Byrd, and who routinely refer to Byrd as "Mr. Co-Chairman." Byrd, of course, led the fight against the BBA. With the support of President Clinton and Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Byrd orchestrated a clever campaign that let Democrats up for re-election in 1996 vote for the amendment, while Democrats whose day of reckoning is five years off, including Dianne Feinstein (Calif.) and Minority Leader Tom Daschle (S.D.), were compelled to break 1994 campaign promises and vote against.

By the weekend after the vote the lynch-Hatfield mood had turned to collegiality and forgiveness. Dole—who had declared that the choice was between keeping Hatfield (who had offered to resign) as a Republican senator, and passing the most important legislation in thirty years—backed off. Senator Gramm, playing Mr. Nice Guy instead of Mr. Mean, said it would be "stupid" to punish Hatfield. Senator D'Amato and his National Republican Senatorial Committee, said they would enthusiastically back his re-election in 1996. So it went.

Will it matter? Without the crutch of a BBA, GOP liberals in the Senate and House might not have the courage to cast tough budget-cutting votes. But Senator Dole said, "We will proceed as though the BBA were in place, and the zero-deficit pledge will remain intact." Dole promptly announced his support for plans to abolish the Departments of HUD, Energy, Education, and Commerce. Then the Senate GOP released proposed budget cuts amounting to $750 billion over five years, including a thorough restructuring and cost-saving reform of Medicare and Medicaid, and a 15

Waiting for Mr. Right

Lamar does not excite me,
  And Lugar is a bore.
Godivas by the truckload
  Won't help Buchanan score.
Gramm comes on like Godzilla.
  Bob Dole's as old as God,
Which leaves me with my Nordic,
  Developing my bod.

W. H. VON DREELE

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per cent across-the-board reduction for travel, supplies, rent, and other budget overhead.

If Dole follows through, the battle of the BBA will be just a skirmish. But the party must not ignore its Hatfield problem. Though he has voted pro-life, he has never been reliable on cutting domestic spending, and he consistently votes to decimate the defense budget. Should he sin again, he must be punished.

Free Lunch

IF THERE'S something wrong with a welfare state that grows ever more expensive and expansive, you wouldn't have guessed it from listening to GOP spin doctors on the school-lunch program.

Right Data

The Capital's Shortage

DETROIT IS is in the black. So is Chicago. New York City, battered by a weak economy, is grudgingly doing the right thing. In fact, after years of belt-tightening, most major American cities are in their best financial shape in years.

Then there is the nation's capital. Facing a $772-million budget deficit, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry is begging Congress for more money. "Any plan that does not bring in revenue is not going to work," says Hizzoner.

Thomas Edmonds and Raymond Keating beg to differ. In their new book, *D.C. by the Numbers: A State of Failure* they document the waste, mismanagement, and overreaching that have driven D.C. to the poorhouse.

In 1991 (the latest comparable data) the District spent $9,517 per capita, 46 per cent more than New York State and over twice the national average. This enormous disparity actually understates the true state of affairs. The Federal Government helps maintain D.C.'s parks, museums, and zoo—costs that residents of other major cities bear directly.

DUMB AND DUMBER: D.C. AND NEW YORK STATE VERSUS THE NATION
(State / Local Gov't Spending per Capita)

	DC	New York State	U.S. Average
Total Spending	$9,517	$6,526	$4,216
Gov't Debt	$8,116	$5,940	$3,631
Gov't Employees (a)	927	622	523
Education Spending (b)	$9,549	$8,527	$5,421
School Grad. Rate (c)	60.2%	66.8%	71.2%
Police Spending	$447	$244	$130
Crime Rate (d)	11,407	8,491	5,660

a. State & local gov't employees per 10,000 population.
b. Per-pupil amounts.
c. Percentage of public-school seniors graduating on time.
d. Crimes per 100,000 residents
Source: *D.C. by the Numbers.*

Apologists insist that the desperately poor inner city places unique demands on District government. The fraction of D.C. residents on public assistance is abnormally high—12.1 per cent compared to 7 per cent nationally. But benefit amounts are sub-par. The welfare burden stems from a surfeit of welfare *workers* relative to welfare recipients. Indeed, gross overstaffing permeates District government. In 1991 this city of 585,000 had more than 54,000 employees. That works out to 927 government employees for every 10,000 residents. Even Moscow doesn't come close to that.

As in most large cities, education is the single largest budget item. In 1992 D.C.'s public-school system lavished $9,549 on each pupil. Practically every program prescribed by the education experts has been implemented, with little or no effect. Only 60.2 per cent of D.C.'s public-school graduates in June 1994 graduated "on time." Those fortunate enough to graduate are not well prepared. District students score well below the national average on the SATs—dead last in math.

Statehood, say District politicians, would ease the fiscal crisis. Translation: as a state D.C. could impose taxes on residents of other states, notably a commuter income tax. But D.C.'s per-capita tax take is already 60 per cent higher than the Big Apple's, and 8 times L.A.'s. An added tax will only hasten the erosion of D.C.'s tax base.

There are, of course, two D.C.s. The inner core is overwhelmingly black, crime ridden, and increasingly poor. It sits amidst a metropolitan area that is fifth among the 25 largest in household income, third in the percentage of people completing college, and first in the number of high-wage professional and technical jobs. Since 1960, 200,000 District residents, many of them middle-class blacks, have fled to the affluent suburbs.

How to get them back? First admit that "home rule" has been a failure, and end it. Restore accountability: allow the President to appoint all positions of power, and take the heat for their failures. Most importantly, exempt D.C. residents from all federal taxes, just like residents of Puerto Rico, Guam, and other federal territories. Supply-siders Edmonds and Keating believe this would do more than just stanch the hemorrhage.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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Republicans might be sending child-nutrition programs to the states in a block grant, they admitted, but funding for the program would actually *increase* by 4.5 per cent annually. How about the WIC program (Women, Infants, and Children)? Republicans over the next five years would plow $500 million *more* into the program than provided by current law. "We are going to help feed more children than ever before," wrote Opportunities Committee Chairman Bill Goodling, "because we know that the children are our most precious asset."

The Republicans were indeed under tremendous pressure to adopt this line of defense. Ketchup-waving Democrats resorted to the lowest demagogy in the school-lunch debate: "What they're trying to do is literally take away meals from kids," said White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta. The media played along, enlisting words like "dismantle," "eliminate," and "wipe out" to describe the GOP's plan for nutrition programs. Unfortunately Republican moves to set the record straight handed the terms of the debate to the Democrats. If a 4.5 per cent increase in school-lunch programs is good, why isn't the 5.2 per cent increase proposed by the Democrats even better?

As Newt Gingrich never tires of saying, Republicans lose when they argue from Democratic assumptions. So it was that the GOP message on school lunch—slightly less funding, more kids fed—didn't breach the static. The debate-transforming question would have been: Why is it the Federal Government's responsibility to feed children in the first place? That's why children have mothers and fathers. Besides, federally provided school lunches—like other lunches—aren't free. They're bought with tax dollars taken from families that have better uses for the money, such as caring for their children. Defending an alternative vision, of course, is more difficult than touting program growth rates. But either Republicans resolve to do it—or they resign themselves to more futile battles over short-changing the welfare state.

Battle of the Big Ones

BOB DOLE and Phil Gramm, the supposed Republican front-runners, each got a bouquet in the last fortnight, though in every bud there nested a little worm.

Senator Gramm's pre-announcement dinner at the Dallas Convention Center raised $4.1 million from the 2,800 guests, and from friends who wrote their regrets on the backs of their checks. The bad news for Gramm Crackers was that the affair was as exciting as an internal-combustion engine. For soulless chilliness, it was rivaled only by Ronald Reagan's liftoff in 1979. Reagan recovered, but he had years of genial and passionate advocacy to fall back on. The Gramm campaign says it's off the money message now. It would be well advised to find others.

Bob Dole used a flattering portrait in the *New York Times Magazine* to say a number of unflattering things about Republicans, and Republican victories. "If you're looking for ideology—well, there's Ronald Reagan. Then you see how the debt went up during those years." "Sometimes I kind of wonder: 'Well, jiminy, why can't I think like [Newt Gingrich]? Is there something wrong with me?' Then I think, 'Well, maybe not.'" "The American people were voting for change [in 1994]. . . . If anybody could tell me precisely what the message was, I'll eat their hat." Senator Dole may not be to blame for the failure of the Balanced Budget Amendment (though further failures will devalue his image as Mr. Inside). Dole's *Times* talk fortifies his image as Mr. Outside—outside the conservative movement, and happy to be there. Dole has tried hard to woo distrustful conservatives; a few more jokes, and he will be back to square one.

The message from the front-runners is that they are not that far out in front. Experience and money help win primaries, but the final decision is made by voters, who have to be moved to pull one lever or another. Conservative voters have a long time, and a lot of questions to ask, before they make up their minds.

So Sue Them

IF YOU believe the rhetoric of its opponents, the tort-reform legislation recently approved by the House of Representatives is a steroid shot for Goliaths. "It frankly is a total deterrent to small people bringing lawsuits," White House Counsel Abner J. Mikva told the *New York Times*. Ralph Nader called the legislation a triumph for "the forces of cruelty." Larry Stewart, president of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, said it would "give the rich an economic club to force ordinary Americans to stay out of the courts." These critics insist upon analyzing tort-reform proposals as either "pro-business" or "pro-consumer," "pro-defendant" or "pro-plaintiff." But such dichotomies are misleading and pernicious. Excessive litigation and unreasonable damage awards hurt all Americans by clogging the courts, and raising costs. There is room for disagreement about what is excessive or unreasonable and about the proper balance between plaintiffs and defendants. But the main problem with the reforms approved by the House is that they do not go far enough.

Consider the "loser pays" proposal. The version in the Contract with America would require the loser in a federal case involving parties from different states to pay the winner's legal fees, thereby creating a deterrent against wrongful lawsuits. Critics of this requirement, which many countries have adopted in some

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form, argue that it would also deter plaintiffs with legitimate claims. But as the Manhattan Institute's Walter Olson, author of *The Litigation Explosion*, noted in recent congressional testimony, it is just as reasonable to say that the rule would encourage such plaintiffs by offering compensation for their legal costs should they prevail. In any case, the current situation, in which plaintiffs can extort money from defendants by threatening to impose huge legal expenses on them, is clearly unjust. Unfortunately, the "loser pays" measure approved by the House awards legal fees only to victorious plaintiffs who had rejected, prior to trial, a settlement offer that was higher than the amount ultimately awarded by the court.

The restrictions on damages are also relatively modest. The legislation limits pain-and-suffering awards in medical-malpractice cases to $250,000. Opponents complain that this cap is arbitrary, and they're right—but so is every award for pain and suffering ordered by a jury. Asking juries to assign a dollar value to an imponderable like "pain and suffering" invites gut-level decision-making. Punitive damages, which the legislation also addresses, are even more problematic. When courts impose "damages" to punish wrongdoers rather than to compensate victims, they blur the distinction between civil and criminal law. The defendant gets the worst of both worlds: he is subject to punishment without the protections a criminal defendant enjoys. By limiting punitive damages to three times economic damages (or $250,000, whichever is greater), the measure approved by the House makes this exposure less costly, but it still dodges the central issue.

Nevertheless, the tort-reform package represents a clear improvement. In addition to the provisions concerning legal fees and damages, it puts teeth back into the federal rule imposing sanctions on attorneys for wrongful suits, codifies restrictions on the admissibility of scientific evidence, and requires proof of fraud in shareholder suits. Most of the reforms, of course, will not make it through the Senate—which is all the more reason to be bold at the outset. Any decent lawyer could tell you that.

Wallace Reconsidered

GEORGE WALLACE, grievously crippled and now old, turned up at a rally honoring the Selma march of thirty years ago, which was brutally squelched by police under orders from Alabama Governor George Wallace. Wallace long since asked forgiveness for stirring up racial feeling; he won a large number of black votes in his last run for governor and proved that he could cut deals with black politicians as well as white ones. Last week, he even sang "We Shall Overcome."

Wallace, who grew up playing with black children, made his mark in Alabama as a segregationist. Between 1968 and 1972, when he was shot, he went national, and to the horror of Democrats did as well among blue-collar workers in the North as he did in the South. His theme was no longer "segregation forever," but opposition to social engineering, with busing in the foreground. Wallace inveighed against pointy-headed professors and bureaucrats who could not park their bicycles straight. He adumbrated the future with his attacks on bureaucrat-made law and judicial arrogance. Both major parties, but especially the Republicans, heard him. When Wallace was shot in 1972, Nixon instantly concluded that he would beat McGovern in a landslide. His 60-to-40 win foreshadowed Reagan against Mondale.

Like Bryan in the nineteenth century, Wallace was a forerunner. Well might he sing "We Shall Overcome" in Selma last week.

Celebrating Irving Kristol

FOR over fifty years, Irving Kristol has been a presence in the life of American letters. His influence on a couple of generations of journalists, academics, and thinkers has been steady and beneficent. As the pre-eminent standard-bearer of the vaguely defined "neoconservative" movement, Kristol carried on the pattern of the earnest 1930s radical who was moved not by intellectual posturing but by a genuine desire to steer the world. Early in the struggle, he developed a profound distrust of liberalism as a misguided view of human nature that threatened to separate its proponents from reality.

Now John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Kristol has been managing editor of *Commentary*, co-founder of the now sadly defunct *Encounter*, and founder of two consequential policy journals, *The Public Interest* and *The National Interest*. For his 75th birthday just past, the AEI Press published *The Neoconservative Imagination* (edited by Christopher DeMuth and William Kristol), a book of essays by 15 notables upon whom Kristol left a lasting mark, including Nathan Glazer, Norman Pod-

Rubin's Gamble

In Mexico, where bribes have been
(Since Montezuma lost) built in,
The $20-billion bailout loan
Is probably already blown,
And when D'Amato gets the news,
I'd hate to be in Rubin's shoes.

W. H. VON DREELE

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horetz, Michael S. Joyce, and Robert Bork. Bork's essay evokes a panel discussion at a National Review Institute conference last year, in which Mr. Bork predicted that doom was coming. Mr. Kristol, with genial optimism, rose and said, "Yes—but slowly."

Long acquaintance with Irving Kristol's writings reveals the manly balance of his thought. "The essential purpose of politics, after all," he once wrote, "is to transmit to our children a civilization and a nation that they can be proud of." Yet he also considered "the exaggerated hopes we attach to politics as the curse of our age." For years Kristol has given this needed corrective to those who see more tenebrous prospects. His has always been, at bottom, a voice of hope. *Mitte decem tales.* Send ten more like this.

Notes & Asides

How Does It Go For God and Man at Yale?

1952. *Excerpts from a report of the* [*Yale*] *President's Advisory Committee, Henry Sloane Coffin, '97 Chairman, February 9, 1952.*

[The charges that Yale cultivates irreligion are] without foundation. . . . There is today, more than ever, widespread realizaton that religion alone can give meaning and purpose to modern life. . . . It is by faith that man sees all things working together in the light of God and gives himself to work with them. To supply such light and truth Yale was at birth dedicated, and to this high aim the University continues. Religous life at Yale is deeper and richer than it has been in many years.

—As for God . . .

1994. *From the* Yale Free Press, *a conservative undergraduate monthly, April 1994, excerpts from an essay, "Corpus Yalensis," by Joshua Hochschild. "Joshua Hochschild is a senior in Jonathan Edwards College."*

Yale, this second half of the twentieth century, is a corpse; which is to say, it resembles the real Yale in no more than accidental qualities, and even deserves the name "'Yale" only analogically.

The destruction of the College in New Haven dedicated to the preparation of Christian men for ministry is in no way mitigated by the survival of its name. Nonetheless, that Yale is no more, and that what is called Yale merely inhabits the same buildings and takes the same symbols and trappings, has, to the extent that it has been recognized, been more celebrated than mourned. This itself is further tragedy.

The properly acculturated historian of ideas will explain the "evolution" of Yale by pointing out—quite believably—that the institution simply had to change when people stopped believing the old ideas, and started believing new ones. [But] an institution requires purpose, discipline, and a source of authority. These things are not recognized by the new institution, which is as a result not any sort of institution at all and cannot begin to educate its "students" out of their ignorance of institutions.

It seems this very ignorance at least explains why, for instance, the majority of women and men in the College today are so basically unfit for the institution of marriage. Fitness for marriage requires, at the least, a recognition of its significance, a recognition which must be supported by belief in the reality of moral institutions. But here, unchecked and untrained by the guidance of substantive institutions, moral weakness and ignorance are abundant to the point of celebration.

Students attempt to dignify sexual degradation by organizing in its name; others, their moral convictions beaten out of them, stand by permissively. Is it any wonder that so many of the students courageous enough to recognize that *something* is wrong seek refuge in the relative strength of that most basic of children's institutions, the fraternity?

In the midst of this devastated landscape, the individual can only begin again and try to be a student. But for what could the student muster a student's enthusiasm? For God? Apparently we are supposed to believe that we have been persuaded of His death. For country? For our State it is difficult to pretend enthusiasm, and those few who manage border on the excess of fascism. For Yale? She is destroyed, her spirit separated from her body. Those who remember her life are left to wonder whether her spirit could survive the separation, and, if so immortal, whether the body will admit to resurrection.

1994. *From* The New York Times Book Review, *April 4, 1994. Excerpts from "God, Man, and the Curriculum / How freedom of religion became freedom from religion on the campus," a review by John Patrick Diggins of* The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief, *by George M. Marsden (462 pp., New York: Oxford University Press,*

Parlor Games

Affirmative action is starting to take
A toll on Panetta, attempting to make
Minorities happy while surly white males
Keep pinning the issue on Democrat tails.

W. H. VON DREELE

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$35). "John Patrick Diggins is a professor of history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. His most recent book is The Promise of Pragmatism: Modernism and the Crisis of Knowledge and Authority."

. . . Today the teaching of religion has all but disappeared from the academy. This divine eclipse poses a theodicy question: How can a God so omnipotent as to have created the world become so insignificant on the American campus as to be denied tenure? In *The Soul of the American University*, George M. Marsden, a [Calvinist] professor of history at the University of Notre Dame and an authority on American religious ideas and movements, explains how religion has been removed from the curriculum and why Americans seem scarcely aware of what has been taken away in the name of progress and modernity. In some respects his thoughtful and timely study expands in depth and scope William F. Buckley Jr.'s provocative polemic, *God and Man at Yale* (1951), which charged that university with drifting away from its Christian foundations to take up the teaching of "relativism, pragmatism, and utilitarianism," in the spirit of John Dewey.

. . . The ultimate irony is that liberal Protestantism, having fostered secular trends open to the teaching of various modernisms, found itself driven from the academic world by the forces of secularism it had earlier championed. "The result," Mr. Marsden writes, "was an 'inclusive' higher education that resolved the problems of pluralism by virtually excluding all religious perspectives from the nation's highest academic life."

—And Man?

1994. *From the* Yale Free Press, *May 1994. Excerpts from the essay,"Long Day's Journey to the Right," by Julian Ku. "Julian Ku is a senior in Davenport College."*

Every once in a while, I am reminded of just why I chose to spend my four years at Yale as a conservative political activist.

One of those moments occurred in the spring of 1993 after I had published my final issue as editor-in-chief of the *Yale Free Press*. I had been invited to participate in a panel on eroticism and taboo during Bisexual, Gay, and Lesbian Awareness Days (BGLAD). Before I could speak, I was denounced by a member of the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Co-op, who read a list of my "crimes" against the gay community and demanded that I be removed from the panel.

Had I been anywhere other than Yale, the situation would have seemed ridiculous. The two men sitting next to me were representatives of the North American Man–Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which supports the legalization of sexual intercourse between men and boys (some related encounters with 8-year-olds). Both admitted to engaging in pedophilic acts. And the Co-op wanted to throw *me* out?

"Unfortunately, only Ed's politics are conservative."

. . . Only later did I realize that conservatives at Yale must do more than simply stake out the Republican position on every campus political issue. With a substantial campus majority—Dukakis received a whopping 88 per cent here in 1988 but only 46 per cent nationwide—Yale leftists and liberals could afford to graciously tolerate our existence as the "other side." Even better, a "nice" conservative movement would allow them to congratulate themselves on being so open-minded and tolerant without requiring them to take us seriously. Hence, the *Y[ale] F[ree] P[ress]* developed a unique in-your-face persona it has never quite shed.

As I near graduation, I wonder, Was it worth it? Four years took their toll. Promising friendships fell apart, nasty epithets were coined behind my back (my personal favorite: Julian "Ku Klux Klan"), and I received more than my share of angry letters, phone calls, and face-to-face confrontations.

But the battle continues. Yale has institutionalized its major sources of campus leftism: the women's center, the cultural centers, and the Co-op. Even now, a new campus publication seeks to "reclaim the margin" and revitalize leftism at Yale. Future generations of Yalies will likely embrace leftism as happily as this one. The *YFP* will always be just a gadfly in comparison to the continual sources of left-liberalism for Ivy League elites.

—WFB

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Tired, Poor, on Welfare (Cont'd)

You Can Bet on It

As Milton Friedman ruefully remarked about himself, I have been blessed with many critics. Following Friedman's example, I have not replied to most of them. But the article by George Borjas in the December 13, 1993, NATIONAL REVIEW ("Tired, Poor, on Welfare") contains an exceedingly egregious criticism based on a demonstrably erroneous calculation. Inexplicably, it was written by an economist who is an excellent econometrician. Borjas's faulty assertion about my work has been picked up by others and reproduced in such places as the *New York Times*. So I must reply.

More important than the effect of Borjas's unfounded criticism on me is its effect on immigrants, who are unfairly seen to be takers from the public coffers rather than contributors to them. The truth is that, on average, immigrants arrive when they are young and strong rather than tired and poor, and, on average, they contribute more in taxes than they use in welfare services. Let's look at the details.

Borjas bluntly says that "Simon is entirely wrong" about the effect of immigrants on the public coffers by way of welfare and taxes. He says of my concluding calculation:

> Though the calculation is quite simple, it is also quite wrong. A good hint that something is amiss occurs when Simon reports that natives also pay about $1,000 more in taxes than they receive in benefits. But how can this be? Welfare programs, after all, redistribute income from some groups to others. If both immigrants and natives pay more in taxes than they receive in benefits, who is being taxed and who is being subsidized?

Thus Borjas claims my calculation that immigrants are net contributors to the public purse must be wrong because it cannot be true that (deficits aside) all groups put in more than they take out. But my analysis is not based on the *absolute* net contribution of immigrants (the calculation of which from micro data inevitably leaves out some non-individual governmental expenditures). Rather, my conclusion rests on the fact that the net contribution of immigrants is *relatively* high compared to that of natives. Immigrants make greater net contributions than do natives largely because immigrants typically arrive when they are physically fit and just starting their working lives, rather than at ages when people collect old-age benefits.

Borjas makes the same mistaken criticism in a review of my 1989 book *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* in the *Journal of Economic Literature*:

> Probably the most influential result in the book is the finding that immigrants contribute more in taxes than the value of the public services they receive. Simon then concludes that because immigrants more than pay their way in the United States, they are not a burden to natives. . . . In 1975 the typical household in the 1965–1969 immigrant wave received only $1,941 in social services, but paid $3,552 in taxes. . . . Suppose one conducts the same type of cost–benefit analysis for the typical native family. Simon then finds that the native household receives $2,279 in social services, but pays $3,201 in taxes. It seems that natives, too, are a good investment (although not as good an investment as immigrants). . . . It is apparent that key entries in the cost–benefit ledger are being left out. . . .

The yearly contribution calculated for this cohort of immigrants is ($3,552 – $1,941) – ($3,201 – $2,279) = $689. It is that $689 (with some adjustment for economies of scale in public goods in some of my alternative calculations), rather than the $3,552 – $1,941 = $1,611 that Borjas assumes I am working with, that is the basis for my analysis of the lifetime effect of a newly admitted immigrant family.

I am distressed that Professor Borjas could think me capable of making such a fundamental blunder. If he again wonders about the validity of my methods, and wants me to get it right rather than simply aiming to discredit my conclusions, he could make life easier for both of us by checking with me first.

I repeat a challenge I have offered to Professor Borjas's follower, Donald Huddle (with whom Borjas expresses agreement in the *NR* article). Welfare in connection with immigration is a hot and important topic but difficult for the layperson to sort out. To clarify the matter, I therefore invite Professor Borjas to bring his assertions and mine—and all others, as appropriate—before a "science court" of distinguished economists chosen by, say, the American Economic Association. The person whose work is found less valid would pay the court's expenses.

Julian L. Simon
University of Maryland

The Great Mistake

I am heartened to see that Mr. Simon agrees with the basic point of my article: it is a "fundamental blunder" to compare the taxes paid by immigrants to the costs they impose on the welfare system when deciding if immigrants pay their way in the welfare state. I hope that Mr. Simon stresses this point to the many analysts in the immigration industry who are making exactly this comparison.

I'm not sure, however, that Mr. Simon has exculpated himself from having made this blunder. He concludes both in his book and in his letter that "on average" immigrants "contribute more in taxes than they use in welfare services." This conclusion is simple and striking, and does not rely on any native–immigrant comparisons.

Furthermore, Mr. Simon keeps reiterating a conclusion he reached using data from 1976. Surely the economic impact of immigration has changed in the last twenty years.

As to Mr. Simon's belief that "Borjas expresses agreement" with Donald Huddle, Mr. Simon might benefit both from rereading my original article and from reading Huddle's negative reaction to it in the April 4, 1994, *NR*.

George Borjas
University of California, San Diego

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ON THE SCENE

Breaking Away

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

BILLY TAUZIN is ebullient. The Louisiana Democrat watched his party sustain catastrophic losses in the 1994 elections. Former House barons got tickets to obscurity. The President sank into semi-retirement. Hundreds of staffers landed in the streets. A recent *New York Times* headline declared: "Democrats in Denial Stage of Grief." But Tauzin bounces into the stately Rayburn Room just off the House floor, all smiles.

"It's liberating," says Tauzin, a compact man wearing a tie with a swirling, colorful print. "The ideas that keep me in Congress, that keep me excited about my job here, are now coming to the floor." He has just watched the House pass, 301 to 128, his amendment to property-rights legislation, part of the hundred-day march Tauzin and other conservative Democrats have been happy to join.

For years, Tauzin & Co. marched in place. "When I went to the Rules Committee," he recalls, it "was packed with liberals. And when I asked for a rule to let me take property rights to the floor, they always said no. But Mr. [Gerry] Studds [a liberal from Massachusetts] would come to the same meeting and say, 'I want my bill to come up, and I want all these waivers,' and they'd say, 'OK.' That's the way it was." No more. Many of the major elements of the Contract with America that have passed the House so far—the Balanced Budget Amendment, limits on unfunded mandates, risk-assessment requirements, securities reform—were championed in previous Congresses by conservative Democrats.

In the new climate, Tauzin and other like-minded Democrats (23 in all) have formed "the Coalition." They mean to put distance between themselves and the Democratic leadership, while forging a bloc of swing votes that can wring concessions from Republicans. On the one hand, Coalition members are angering their 181 Democratic colleagues. On the other, they're trying to pull Contract items centerward—irritating the right wing of the Republican conference—and cooperate with a GOP that ultimately wants to see them lose their seats. It's the kind of tight spot only someone like Billy Tauzin could relish.

Eager to touch his listener's arm before making a particularly animated point, Tauzin is the Cajun politician par excellence, a deal maker and backslapper who's as shrewd as he is warm. He entered the Lousiana legislature in 1971 and was quickly pegged as a comer who would inherit the Cajun vote from Governor Edwin Edwards. "He was seen from the first day he walked in there that here's the new Edwin Edwards, from the way he dressed, the bon vivant, the way he engaged people," says John Maginnis, publisher of the *Louisiana Political Review*. "He was even better at Edwards than Edwards." When Tauzin won his congressional seat in 1980 it was with Edwards's backing.

The split came in 1987. Tauzin decided to run for governor, thinking he had an understanding that the scandal-plagued Edwards would step aside. Edwards ran anyway. When Tauzin decided to stay in the race, it became a duel for the Cajun vote that Tauzin lost disastrously, finishing fourth in a five-man field with just 10 per cent of the vote. A bitter loss that saddled him with substantial debt, the 1987 race brought a sharper edge to Tauzin's politics.

IN 1993 he turned that edge against Bill Clinton and the Democratic leadership. Tauzin, with close ties to the oil and gas industry and a bayou district badly hurt by federal wetlands and endangered-species regulation, had always had conservative inclinations. But his full conservative fury wasn't unleashed until after he voted for the BTU energy tax. "He tried to explain it by saying he understood that it was going to be changed in the Senate," says Richard Baudouin, editor of the *Times of Acadiana*. "But that kind of explanation doesn't go down well." Tauzin got hammered at home, without getting the cover he expected from the White House. It seems he'll never let the Administration forget it.

After the November elections, Tauzin publicly flirted for weeks with switching to the Republican Party. The indecision probably hurt him. But soon he formed the Coalition, and he was more in the midst of things than ever. "It's kind of a trademark of Billy that he was able to position himself as someone who is the leader of *something*," says Maginnis.

That something could be crucial to House Republicans. "We have a 240-seat majority in the House of Representatives, not 230," says one leadership aide. "The 240 is 230 plus 25 conservative Democrats minus 15 moderate Republicans." So far Republicans have been united enough and have wooed enough other wayward Democrats that those extra votes haven't been decisive. But that could change when the tough budget votes come. And until then the Coalition can deliver veto-proof majorities.

What constitutes the possible will be

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the chief point of contention between Republicans and the Coalition. Already, Tauzin is taking hits from the Right. He succeeded in narrowing the takings provision in the Contract—which requires compensation for landowners whose property value is diminished by federal regulation—to cover only wetlands, endangered species, and a handful of other laws. The American Landrights Association activated its fax network in an attempt to head off Tauzin's effort.

"Tauzin has been saying in speeches for years that the Fifth Amendment doesn't say 'nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation, comma, except for the Endangered Species Act,'" says Jonathan Adler, associate director of environmental studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute. "But apparently he does believe that it says 'comma, except for the Wild and Scenic Rivers program, the Historic Preservation Act, and many other federal programs.'" Though a group of about a dozen moderate Republicans had written to Newt Gingrich complaining about the takings language in the Contract, the amended version of the bill passed so overwhelmingly (277 to 148) that it's not clear the revisions were necessary.

This struggle will be played out repeatedly. Tauzin recently worked to modify the securities-reform bill introduced by Chris Cox (R., Calif.), making it closer to a version he had sponsored last year. The Coalition's first major policy offering is a welfare-reform proposal that emphasizes work and jettisons Contract provisions like cutting off young unwed mothers. But on welfare Republicans are less likely to entertain Coalition objections, knowing that nothing they do will get them to veto-proof majority.

It's the Democrats who need the Coalition most. After the slaughter of moderate Democrats in November, if the conservatives go, the party will be left with nothing but Henry Waxmans and Pat Schroeders. The Democratic leadership should be courting the conservatives, but instead it is snubbing them. Democrats refused to appoint Gary Condit, the California Democrat who championed the unfunded-mandates legislation, to the conference committee reconciling the House and Senate versions of the bill, even after Republicans offered to create a special slot for him. Some staffers of Coalition members have been told by Democratic committee staff that perhaps they shouldn't attend staff meetings.

Tauzin is not too upset by his isolation from fellow Democrats. He can speak with a twinkle in his eye of being "a narrowing, shrinking minority in a shrinking minority" because he knows that's the place to be in a Democratic state that leans conservative and rewards independence. His minority could disappear from the Democratic Party entirely, and he'd still be well positioned to win the seat of retiring Democratic Senator Bennett Johnston in 1996. Where the extinction of their Center–Right would leave the Democrats is less clear—but wherever it is, they'll be having less fun than Billy Tauzin. □

Back in the USSR

ANTHONY DANIELS

BISHKEK

EVERY morning in Bishkek (formerly Frunze, the capital of Kirghistan, now Kyrgyzia), I looked out of my hotel window and thought of Rouen Cathedral—or rather of Monet's series of paintings of Rouen Cathedral in different lights. The stimulus for this unlikely association of ideas was a large industrial chimney which, against a background of snow-covered mountains, emitted smoke of many different hues, depending upon the position of the sun. Yellow, ochre, pink, mauve, indigo, all trailing off into a dirty blackish-grey: there can be a certain subtle beauty to pollution.

It was good to be back in the Soviet Union, where the factories still produce pollution and very little else. One sniff of that air as you step out of a building—badly refined, sulphurous gasoline leaking everywhere—and happy memories come flooding back to you. The hotel meals are exactly the same, down to the ten-page menus with only one dish available and the waiters doing their best to keep you out of the vast, empty, echoing restaurants in the first place.

There are still fat ladies huddled at broken-down desks at the entrances to buildings, by comparison with whose view of humanity Jonathan Swift's was positively sentimental. Angry bronze Lenins of various sizes still wordlessly harangue passers-by from their pedestals; the Great Patriotic War is still commemorated with statuary of steel-breasted, square-jawed matrons and barrel-chested soldiers; and the streets still appall by their utter lifelessness. The depressing, grey Soviet mess has spread over millions of square miles. What the foreign optimists forgot, when the Soviet Union fell apart, was that the Soviet Union was not merely a political regime but an entire civilization: one without virtue or charm, but a civilization nonetheless.

Take the question of why the white lines painted on the roads are so irregular in width in the Soviet Union, why they so signally fail to keep to the middle of the road, suddenly diverge into several branches for no apparent reason, and then die out altogether. I pondered this matter between Almaty (in Kazakhstan) and Bishkek. The answer must surely lie in a combination of the indifference of Soviet workers of all nationalities, on the one hand, and sheer drunkenness on the other. The life expectancy of Russian males is only 59, thanks largely to vodka.

The Soviets were undoubtedly magnificent missionaries for the cause of drunkenness. When I met with two candidates of the Kirghiz nationalist party just before the recent parliamentary elections, they proposed so many toasts—to democracy, to Kyrgyzia, to international friendship and solidarity—that by the end of our encounter they were in no condition to continue with their campaign, and one of the candidates was on the verge of sliding under the table. In the battle between vodka and Islam, the former appears to be winning hands down.

In any case, years of Soviet tutelage had rendered the candidates incapable of expressing themselves in any but the wooden language, full of viscous generalities, of a Brezhnev or a Chernenko. It was impossible to discover what they stood for, if anything, or even how many members their party

Dr. Daniels, a physician, is the author of Utopias Elsewhere *(Crown).*

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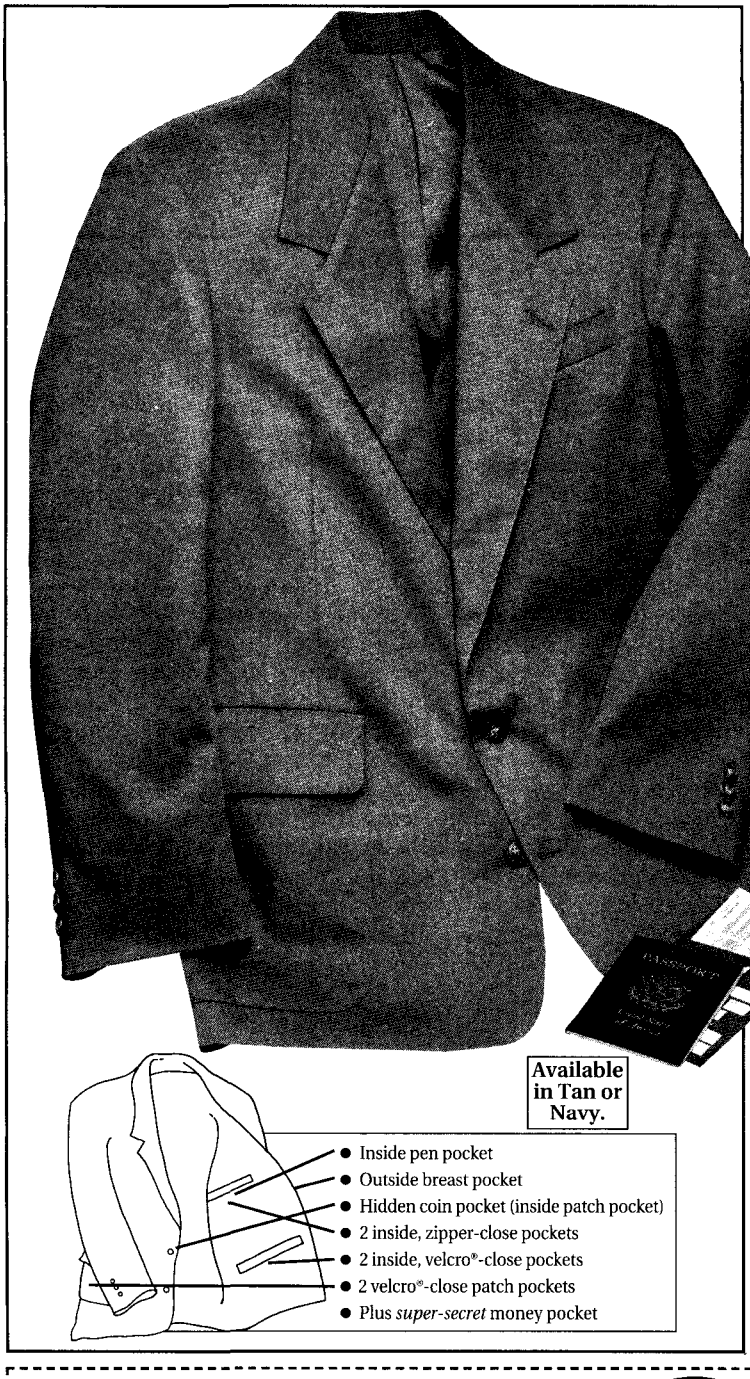
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had. This inability to descend to concrete detail appeared to be a general characteristic of intellectuals in Kyrgyzia, whose language and thought were fully Sovietized.

The editor of a supposedly oppositional newspaper found it difficult to explain the actual mechanism whereby the government—the most democratic, or least dictatorial, of the governments in former Soviet Central Asia—had been able to close down two newspapers whose criticisms were not "constructive." After much tortuous verbiage, it emerged that the government, still in control of the only large printing press in the country, simply ordered large print runs of documents at precisely the time when the newspapers should have been printing. A day or two's absence from the streets is sufficient to kill a newspaper in Kyrgyzia, and the example provided a salutary lesson to the rest of the press.

The parliamentary elections, too, bore the stamp of the Soviet past. Some of the voters seemed not to appreciate that they had a choice of candidates. They automatically deposited the ballot papers, unmarked, into the ballot box, just as they did in the good old days of 99.87 per cent victories for the Party. Those who voted did so for up to eight members of their family, the elections not being valid unless 50 per cent of the electorate voted and the government having informed its officials that it expected such a turnout. Multiple voting, the one way to comply with the government's wishes, was excused as "an old Kirghiz custom."

Observers representing the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) found so many irregularities in every phase of the elections that their invalidity was beyond doubt. Each of the 1,000 candidates for 105 seats in parliament had been given five minutes to propose himself on TV and a certain number of posters of identical format. Thus the electorate was unable to distinguish one candidate from another. The voting procedure was complex, and voters had to cross off the names of the unwanted candidates rather than tick the name of the desired candidate. The vote counting was blatantly illegal. No attempt was made to reconcile the number of votes cast with the number counted. There were cases of intimidation and of people being dragooned into voting. The general atmosphere, however, was one of justifiably profound indifference: it would have made as much sense for the people of Kyrgyzia to vote to change the climate.

But the CSCE officials wanted to certify the elections free and fair so that Western aid, by far Kyrgyzia's largest source of hard currency, might continue without too many questions. The former Soviet Union is, after all, the new frontier for the international civil servant. Never mind that privatization is the means by which apparatchiks appropriate assets, and foreign aid the means by which those in power fill their foreign bank accounts, while everything else remains the same. The show must go on.

Even if there were no aid to subsidize the status quo, it would be difficult to change the Soviet Union. The republics, like the meals in the restaurants and literature under Stalin, are national in form but Soviet in content. Regimes come and go, but civilizations have a life of their own. □

Dollar Daze

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUDDENLY, no one wants to hold dollars. In the last fortnight, the dollar has dropped to 90 Japanese yen, 1.38 German Marks, and 1.16 Swiss francs, below or near the greenback's lowest levels since World War II. Even second-tier currencies such as the British pound, French franc, and Italian lira have strengthened against the dollar. The beleaguered Canadian dollar has stopped falling against the U.S. dollar. Only the Mexican peso has weakened relative to the U.S. currency.

Therein lies a clue to one of the key factors behind the dollar's collapse. Call it the Mexican contamination effect. Global credit-market participants remain baffled by the Mexican bailout plan launched by the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Treasury. The plan imposed a bizarre policy mix of inflationary peso devaluation, a huge interest-rate hike, stringent wage and price controls, and sharp tax increases on consumer goods, upper incomes, and capital gains. It fell apart within a few weeks. The peso, which plunged nearly 40 per cent (from 3.5 to 5.5 to the dollar) in the initial devaluation stage late last year, has fallen another 25 per cent (to 7.5 to the dollar) since the so-called rescue plan was announced in mid February. Mexican inflation has jumped to something like 70 per cent, while output is dropping at a 5 to 10 per cent annual rate. No wonder Lloyd Bentsen quietly left the Treasury shortly after the November 8 elections. It wasn't just the Newt Republicans, it was Mexico.

Mr. Kudlow is NR's economics editor.

Left to pick up the pieces is former Wall Street wizard Robert Rubin, who made an estimated $100 million at Goldman, Sachs before signing on as President Clinton's principal economic advisor shortly after the 1992 election. At first happy over his promotion to Treasury Secretary, Rubin—a savvy trader and sharp manager but with little monetary experience—now finds himself at the eye of a financial hurricane that could severely damage the entire Western Hemisphere.

Unlike the Latin American debt crisis in the late Seventies and early Eighties, which was associated with bank loans to governments, the current crisis involves private creditors and lenders throughout the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and South America. If bankruptcies in Mexico gain velocity, and especially if they spread to other Latin economies such as Brazil, Venezuela, and Argentina, the exposure of private firms in the U.S. and Canada could be quite hazardous to the health of their banking systems and economies. The Mexican problem thus becomes a hemispheric problem. Outside this hemisphere, the demand for its monetary unit of account, the dollar, has virtually collapsed.

Inexplicably, Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan, normally a free-market conservative, became a cheerleader for the IMF–Treasury austerity plan, despite its undisciplined Keynesian underpinnings. Rather than offering Congress an independent critique of the plan, Greenspan picked up his pompoms and went to work for the Administration. He even went so far as to lobby Rush Limbaugh, who wisely refused to support the package.

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This is not the first time Greenspan has compromised the tradition of Fed independence. Two years ago, in the spring and summer of 1993, he was a leading supporter of Clinton's high-tax deficit package, going before congressional committees to promise lower interest rates and massive deficit reduction if the package passed. Since then, short-term interest rates have doubled, long-term Treasury yields are two percentage points higher, and the latest estimates from the Congressional Budget Office show the deficit rising toward $400 billion in the early years of the next century.

International money-market players are mindful of this miscalculation. They also remember the double-digit rate of new dollar creation by Greenspan & Co. from mid 1992 to early 1994, which set the stage for the steady decline of the dollar, a $50 rise in the price of gold, and a likely inflation increase in the coming year. After the Fed's effort to restrain money creation in 1994, the key measure of high-powered adjusted Federal Reserve credit, published by the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, has suddenly exploded at an annual rate of 14.8 per cent during the first two months of the new year.

Greenspan delivered remarkably soft testimony to Congress in early March, sounding more like dovish Vice Chairman Alan Blinder than departing Fed member and inflation hawk Wayne Angell. He essentially told Congress that the economy was slowing and no additional tightening would be necessary, even after he had begun pumping up the Fed's balance sheet. This is the sort of thing international traders notice. What's more, they know the Treasury has pumped at least $3 billion from its exchange-stabilization fund into Mexico's reserves, with another $5 billion on the way, not to stabilize the peso but to back up Mexican-government debt payments to U.S. mutual funds and other creditors. While the peso continued to collapse, the Fed and the Treasury were creating new money to bolster the hemisphere's economy. For global investors, this is not reassuring.

Nor is the behavior of the Japanese and German central banks, which insist on pursuing a deflationary course of noncooperation with the United States. While their currencies are appreciating, their gold prices are collapsing. The Bank of Japan insists that recession-induced budget deficits and post-Kobe-earthquake reconstruction will launch inflation, and therefore that it needs to take pre-emptive deflationary steps. The Germans, meanwhile, appear ready to repeat the disastrous 1990 Maastricht experience, when they forced European interest rates sky-high before countries like Britain and Italy sensibly jumped off the deflationary standard. Then and now, the Bundesbank failed to understand the need to accommodate rising demands for the Mark by the emerging Baltic and Central European countries. For this, U.S. policymakers cannot be blamed. Even if domestic American inflation remained below 3 per cent, so long as Germany and Japan insist on deflating prices, the dollar will remain the relatively weak currency.

Finally, financial-market expectations that the new Republican Congress would successfully use the Balanced Budget Amendment to shrink spending and cut taxes had ballooned by the eve of the Senate's final vote. When the vote failed, the balloon was punctured. Now there are growing fears that the GOP may be losing its nerve and retrenching from its positions. Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield's defection went unpunished, and right after the vote, leading Senate Finance Committee members Robert Packwood and John Chafee hauled out the old country-club Republican austerity nostrum that deficit reduction is more important than tax cuts. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, fresh from endorsing Majority Leader Robert Dole for President, declared that the House GOP tax-cut proposals "all sound good," but it is more important to "cut spending and get the deficit under control—that's number one."

The problem is, international capital flows to the countries with the highest after-tax, inflation-adjusted rate of return. When Japan and Germany are considering tax relief is no time for the U.S. to pull back. More than ever, there is a need for international monetary reform, but Mr. Rubin seems unequal to the task.

While the GOP Congress may yet snatch a victory from the jaws of defeat, for the moment people are leery of the dollar. Who can blame them? □

Sorry Performance

DONALD KIRK

SINGAPORE

IF AWARDS were given to newspapers for cowardice under fire, a major contender for 1994 would be the *International Herald Tribune*. Twice in recent months, the *Herald Tribune*, which is jointly owned by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, has capitulated to complaints from the leaders of this city-state. The reasons for official Singaporean anger were not editorial denunciations or embarrassing investigative reports but a couple of perfectly accurate adjectives in articles by freelancers.

Insulting adjective number one was "dynastic." Philip Bowring, former editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, used it last August about midway through a rambling commentary attacking the view among some commentators, notably the taste-makers of Singapore, that Asian values are superior to "those of the decadent West." Bowring, who has frequently criticized Singapore's former prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, stepped over a thin, unmarked boundary when he wrote, "Dynastic politics is evident in 'Communist' China already, as in Singapore, despite official commitments to bureaucratic meritocracy."

There was no doubt which dynasty Bowring was talking about. Lee Kuan Yew, though retired, is frequently seen on TV in his role as "senior minister," while son Lee Hsien Loong serves an apprenticeship as deputy prime minister. The younger Lee appears nightly on the government-controlled networks. The stories always identify him as "BG," for "brigadier general," a rank he attained at the age of 32 for no apparent military accomplishment. The networks never note that the two men are related in any way.

Mr. Kirk is the author of Korean Dynasty: Hyundai and Chung Ju Yung *(M. E. Sharpe).*

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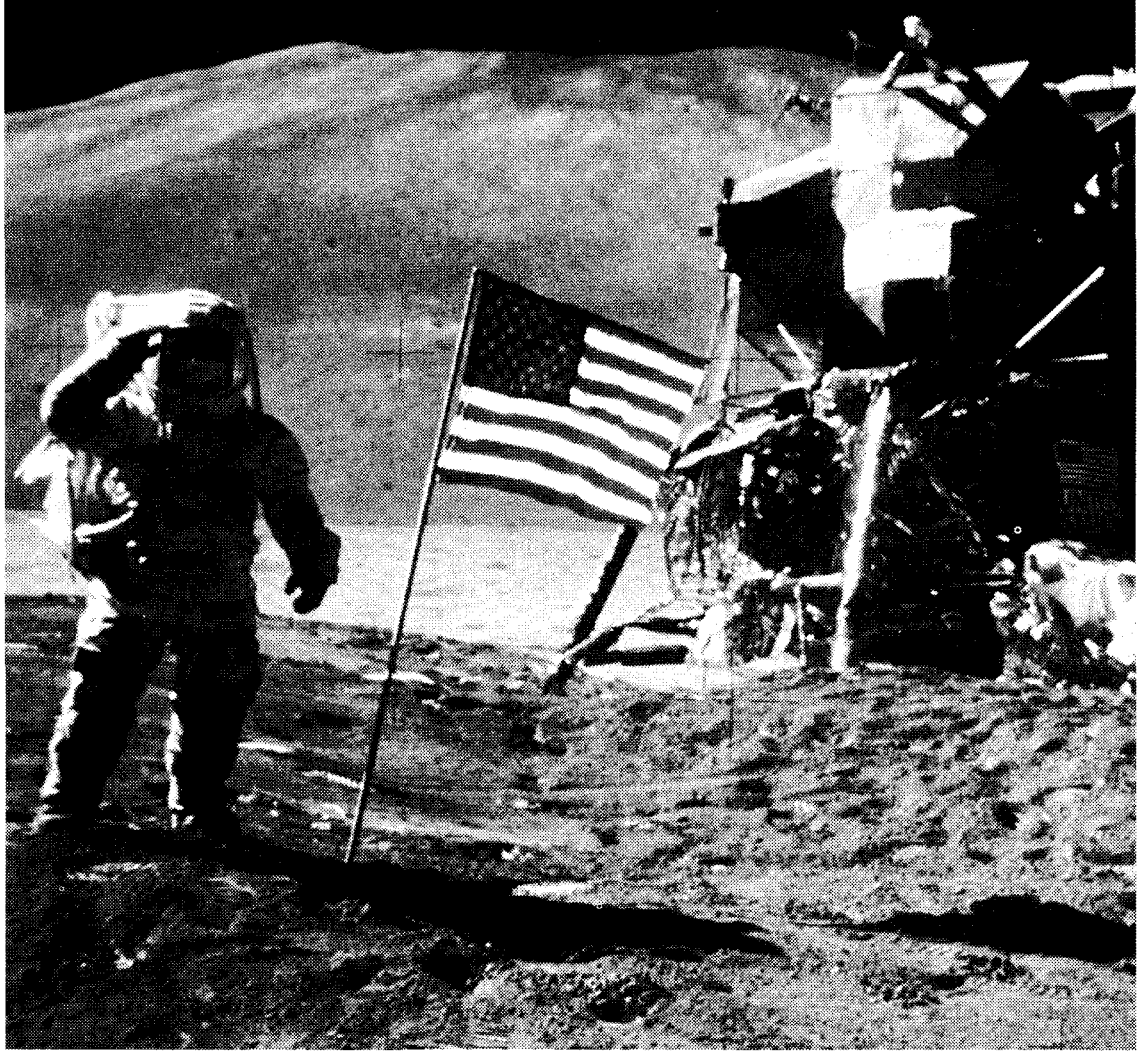

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Bowring's violation of this taboo elicited complaints from Lee Kuan Yew and other officials. Four weeks after the column ran, the paper published an unqualified "apology":

> We recognize that this passage meant to readers that Mr. Lee Hsien Loong [currently Deputy Prime Minister and a Cabinet member for 10 years] had been appointed to his present post of Deputy Prime Minister by Mr. Goh Chok Tong [the Prime Minister], and earlier posts of Minister of State and subsequently Minister for Trade and Industry by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew [currently Senior Minister and until November 1990 Prime Minister], not on his own merits but purely because he was Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's son; and that there was a battle between the . . . needs of the state of Singapore and the interests of the Lee family (father and son) who operated it. We admit that these allegations are completely without foundation. We apologize for them without reservation to Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong. We undertake not to make further allegations to the same or similar effect.

Beneath the apology were the signatures of Richard McClean, publisher; John Vinocur, executive editor; and Philip Bowring, the writer. Bowring tells anyone who asks him about the case that he had no choice but to sign the apology. He makes a living as a freelancer and saw no other way to remain in the good graces of the *Herald Tribune*, which runs his column at least once a week.

The success of Singapore authorities in pressuring the *Herald Tribune* rests on one crucial point: the paper is not only sold in Singapore but is printed there by Times Publishing, which owns almost all of the city-state's papers under a quasi-official monopoly. But if *Herald Tribune* executives were congratulating themselves for fending off the assault by Lee Kuan Yew, they were premature. For one thing, Lee has filed a libel suit. And two months after the paper ran the apology another freelancer, Christopher Lingle, a teaching fellow at the National University of Singapore, slipped another offensive adjective into a *Herald Tribune* commentary.

"Intolerant regimes in the region reveal considerable ingenuity in their methods of suppressing dissent," Lingle wrote. "Some techniques lack finesse: crushing unarmed students with tanks or imprisoning dissidents. Others are more subtle: relying upon a compliant judiciary to bankrupt opposition politicians, or buying out enough of the opposition to take control 'democratically.'"

RESPONDING to government complaints, Lingle argued in vain that he had not named Singapore specifically, that he could have been referring to any country in the region when he described the judiciary as "compliant." Could it have been because he was on target that Singapore authorities decided he was referring to them? Twice investigators visited Lingle's office, interrogating him first for ninety minutes and again for two hours. "They also visited my home," Lingle says. "They asked me what sort of research material I used. I cooperated to avoid an escalation." The investigators took notes on a computer,

Konstantin Valov

printed them out on a portable printer, and asked Lingle to sign them.

Later Lingle was quoted as saying that the investigators "treated me with dignity." But he says he was troubled by "the subtext of their inquiry, where things are calm on the surface and there is turbulence, a dread and foreboding." His real fear was that he might be held without trial while prosecutors went on with their investigations. Under the circumstances, he considered himself lucky to be able to leave Singapore to visit his ailing father in Atlanta. Rather than play a martyr's role at the subsequent trial, he faxed his resignation to National University from Atlanta.

"I would have liked to have faced them down in a trial in hopes of making them look silly," he explains, "but they've just made themselves look silly." Silliest of all, however, was the *Herald Tribune*, whose response was nearly as weak as in the Bowring case. This time, in the weekend issue dated December 10–11, the paper ran what it described as a "clarification":

> It has been brought to our attention [that the article] could by reason of facts later drawn to our attention be understood as suggesting that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew had sought to suppress political activity in Singapore by bankrupting opposition politicians through court actions in which Mr. Lee relied on a compliant judiciary to find in his favor without regards to the merits of the case. This was not our intention, and we do not associate ourselves with any such view which we accept would be unfounded. We apologize unreservedly to Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew and the Singapore judiciary.

The government nevertheless decided to try Lingle, the newspaper, its Asian editor, its printer, and its distributor for "criminal defamation and contempt of court." In January, the High Court of Singapore issued a decision that amounted to a slap on the wrist and a warning. The *Herald Tribune* was fined the equivalent of $6,000, and the printer, distributor, and Asian editor were fined the equivalent of $7,140, all to be paid by the *Herald Tribune*. After the ruling, the publisher, Richard McClean, refused to talk to reporters but said his paper had not meant to attack the Singapore judiciary and "recognizes that it has to have regard to the laws of the countries in which it circulates."

Lee, not happy with the apology, the clarification, or even the vindication by a compliant court, filed another lawsuit. "He wanted them to admit things that were untrue, that this was part of a concerted effort to undermine him," Lingle says. "He wanted a real confession, that we had planned this to embarrass him."

As a measure of the *Herald Tribune*'s "regard to the laws of the countries in which it circulates," the paper chose not to print a *New York Times* editorial urging the U.S. to "make it clear" that "Singapore is, in fact, jeopardizing its relationship with America when it intimidates U.S. citizens." The *Herald Tribune* and its owners, including the *Times*, must count themselves among the most intimidated. □

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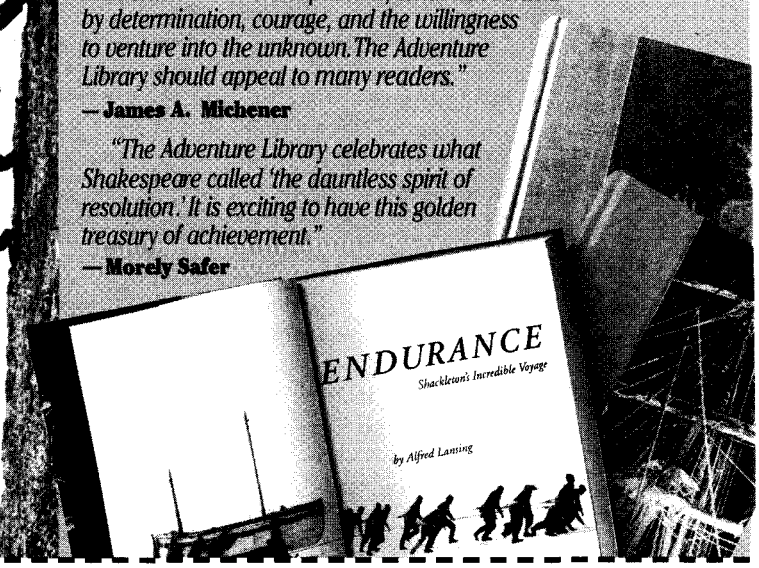

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RANDOM WALK

THE collapse of Barings PLC and its rogue trader, Nick Leeson, is the latest "derivative disaster." It surely won't be the last. But the lesson is not that we need more financial regulations. On the contrary, the Barings drama demonstrates just how resilient financial markets are when left to their own devices, with *de minimis* regulation. For every Barings or Orange County there are thousands of success stories—companies and governments better able to weather unforeseen changes in financial conditions because of the protection afforded by derivative hedges. Blowouts are the exception.

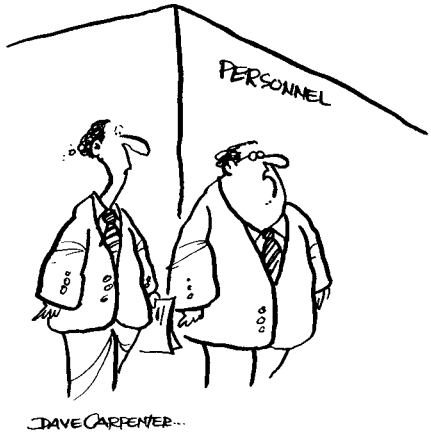
Admittedly, some derivatives serve the cause of capital formation better than others. John Gearhart, former director of investor relations at GE and RCA, fingers stock-index futures—the type of derivative that sank Barings—as a species devoid of redeeming qualities. Index futures, he says, represent a sort of "double dealing" in stocks, since they are trades on stocks that are also traded in their own right. They are purely synthetic creations whose value is far removed from the bricks, mortar, and ideas of the underlying corporations. Gearhart regards index trading as worse than gambling because it pretends to be something else.

Mr. Gearhart, of course, has the stockholder's interest at heart. I agree that stock futures are no place for widows or orphans to invest their money. But they are a valuable tool for professional stock traders and institutions, enabling them to isolate their stock picks from general market movements. Most stock-index traders use them as insurance policies, not as crap shoots.

Yet even market professionals don't all understand the risks. Some have sued their derivative dealer after their positions went sour. The problem is one of full disclosure or "transparency," as market insiders say. It does not mean that derivatives are inherently dangerous, only that that are complex—so complex that only the resident rocket scientist fully understands what to disclose. Some risk is a price we have to pay for a valuable addition to the financial system.

Should the government care if private firms use derivatives for purely speculative reasons and lose? It depends. If taxpayers are liable for derivative losses, as would be the case if a major U.S. depository institution went belly up, public scrutiny is clearly in order. It would be better, of course, to get taxpayers off the hook entirely by privatizing deposit insurance. When the risks are purely private, let the derivative chips fall where they may. By refusing to bail out Barings, the Bank of England tested that concept. So far the results have been exemplary.

■ Is it Alan Greenspan, or is it the economy? After four years of recovery and 17 months of strong growth, there's still no sign of accelerating inflation or the rising wage levels that usually precede it. Many credit the Fed chief. His pre-emptive strike has apparently crushed the inflationary forces that usually emerge around this time in boom cycles.



"No, we don't discourage kissing up, but we do require that it be done discreetly."

But Ed Yardeni, chief economist of C. J. Lawrence & Co., insists that the Fed is acting just as it has in the past. Greenspan pushed the Fed-funds rate up in February 1994 when capacity utilization crossed the 82 per cent mark. This, says Yardeni, is the same threshold that has regularly triggered monetary tightening—and, after a year's lag, inflation—during the past thirty years.

While the Fed is following an old script, inflation is not. A number of factors may explain why the inflation cycle no longer marches in step with the business cycle, including increased global competition, consumer bargain hunting, and companies that are finally reaping the productivity benefits from the computers on employees' desks. Add to this the pro-business cast of the new Congress, and Alan Greenspan can well afford to ease up on the brakes, cutting interest rates to boost noninflationary growth.

■ Last November, Alice Rivlin, director of the Office of Management and Budget, told reporters she equated static revenue analysis with "a commitment to fiscal discipline." In her view, each 1 per cent rise (or fall) in tax rates should be counted on to produce a 1 per cent rise (or fall) in tax revenues. In other words, taxpayers are best regarded as inert clods who don't respond when tax rates are changed.

Fast forward to economist Alan Reynolds's recent Senate Finance Committee testimony. In 1987 Washington raised the top capital-gains tax rate from 20 per cent to 28 per cent. The static model promised a hefty rise in revenues. But Reynolds reports that Washington is collecting considerably less revenue (adjusted for inflation) from taxing capital gains at 28 per cent than it did in 1984 at 20 per cent.

Reynolds would prefer no tax at all on capital gains, but he proposes a second-best alternative: a flat 15 per cent rate. "Otherwise," he says, "people will realize gains when other investment and labor income is low, or even deliberately minimize income in some years (one spouse takes a year off) in order to lighten the bite on large gains (selling the farm or small business), or realize gains after retirement when taxpayers are usually in a lower bracket."

Alice Rivlin, please note. —GEKKO

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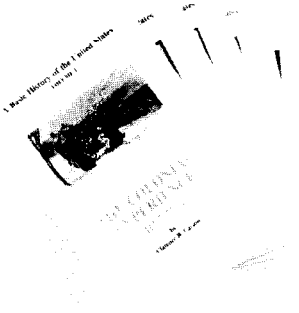

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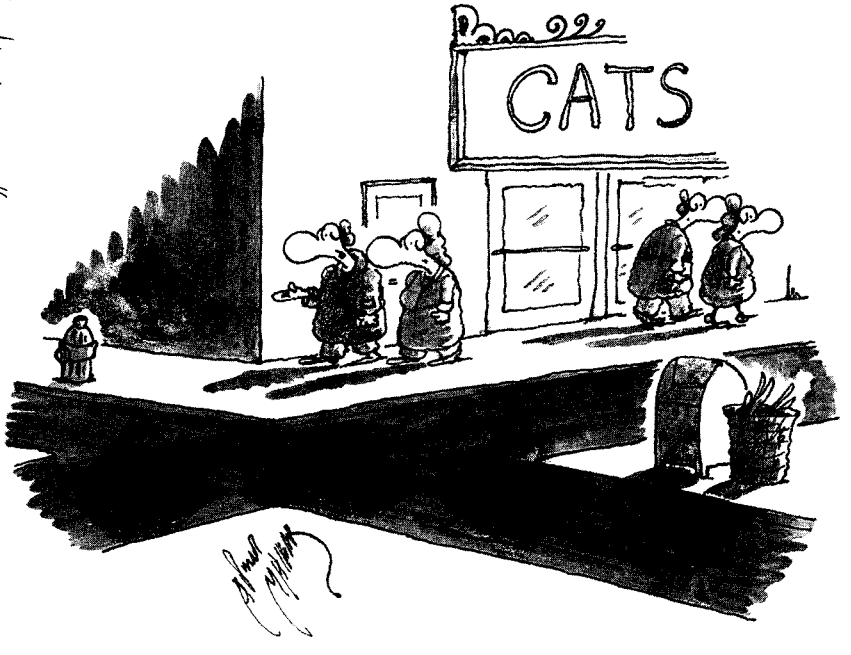

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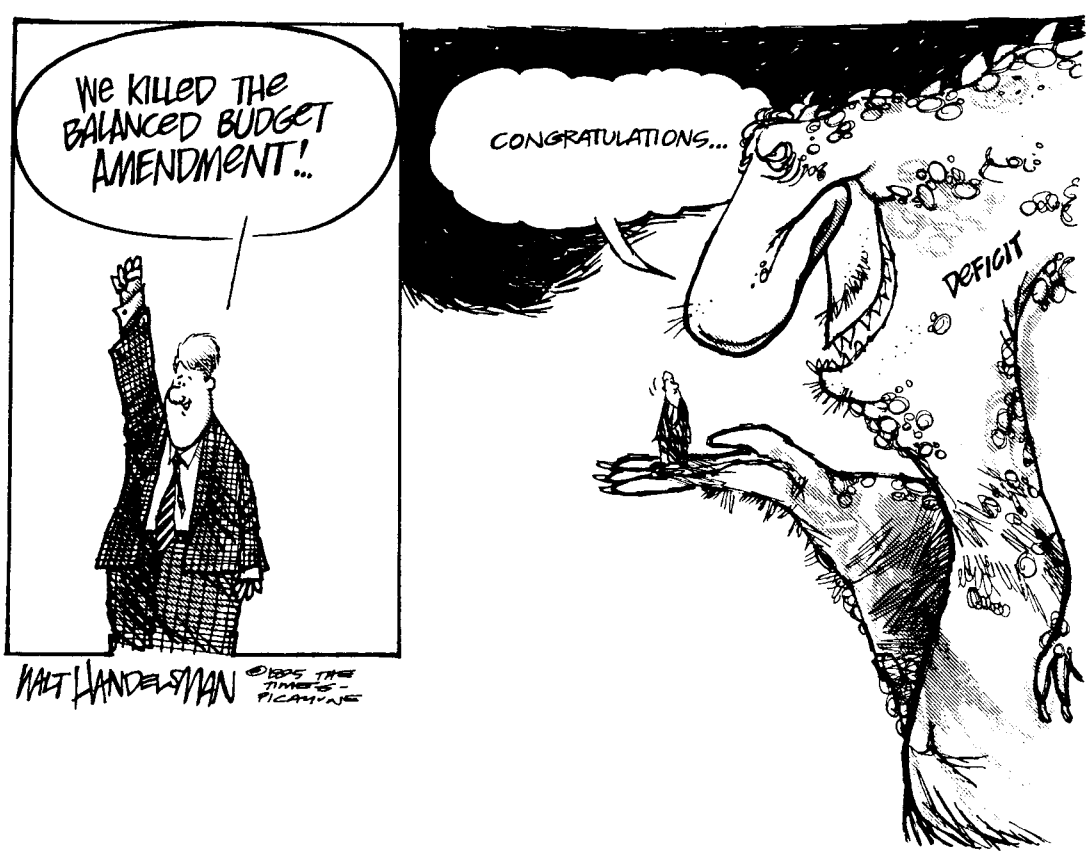

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Where Have All the Fathers Gone?

PAY, PAPA, PAY

The debate over what to do about deadbeat dads has focused for too long on money. While important, money is not the answer. Child-support payments are no substitute for fatherhood.

DAVID BLANKENHORN

THE deadbeat dad is the reigning villain of our contemporary fatherhood script. His visage, framed by a "Wanted" poster, makes the cover of *Newsweek*: "Deadbeat Dads: Wanted for Failure to Pay Child Support." At the Child Guidance Center in Akron, Ohio, a little girl writes this imaginary letter to her dad: "Dear Dad, I wish you the worst Father's Day ever. And if you don't pay, you don't get love. Oh yeah, by the way, my mom makes less money than you. . . . I hate you."

No other family behavior, and no other family-policy issue, has generated such an urgent social consensus on what is to be done. Extracting payments from deadbeat dads is now a regnant priority in our society, uniting liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, elite opinion and popular sentiment. In the 1992 presidential campaign, applause lines about deadbeat dads emerged in the stump speeches of both George Bush and Bill Clinton, reflecting perhaps the only issue in the campaign on which they publicly agreed.

The deadbeat dad is also increasingly visible in popular culture. He is the subject of books, magazine features, and made-for-TV movies. Even the *National Enquirer*, ever alert to its social responsibilities, has launched a deadbeat-dad series—"Help find the cruel louse who deserted his four children"—which enlists the participation of readers in "hunting down and capturing some of the most wanted deadbeat dads in America."

We demonize the deadbeat dad in part because he reminds us of our fatherlessness. He represents loss. He forces us to reduce our expectations. We vilify him, we threaten him, we demand that he pay, largely because he so clearly embodies the contemporary collapse of fatherhood. Yet the content of our demand illustrates the depth of our pessimism. We do not ask this guy to be a father. That would be utopian, impossible. We ask him to send a check. Instead of demanding what is owed, we demand money.

The main social imperative, as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) succinctly puts it, is to "make the daddies pay." In July 1993, the Census Bureau reported a 60 per cent increase in out-of-wedlock childbearing since 1982. To the *New York Times* editorial board, the deeper meaning of this trend was clear: "As the number of unwed mothers grows, so does the number of deadbeat dads." Accordingly, our society's principal response to unwed childbearing must be "a more vigorous effort to track down fathers who refuse to pay support."

If we cannot enforce good fatherhood, the argument goes, we ought to enforce child-support payments. Besides, for children, money is the bottom line. Testifying before the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, Andrew J. Cherlin of Johns Hopkins University concludes that "the major problem the children have in a single-parent family is not the lack of a male image, but rather the lack of a male income."

This way of thinking muddles the issue. First, Cherlin imagines that, in the home, "a male income" and "a male image" are two separate things. Fundamentally, they are not. Consequently, his preference for the former over the latter is all but meaningless. But let us imagine, with Cherlin, that the two could be separated. He still gets the issue backward. The "major problem" in fatherless homes is not "the lack of a male income" (though that certainly is a problem). The major problem is "the lack of a male image"—that is, the lack of a father. To pretend otherwise is simply to pretend that money is important, but fathers are not.

Ultimately, the solution to the growing problem of deadbeat dads is not jail cells, "Most Wanted" posters,

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Mr. Blankenhorn is the author of Fatherless America, *which was just published by Basic Books and from which this article is adapted.* *Copyright © 1995 by the Institute for American Values. Published by arrangement with Basic Books, a division of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.*

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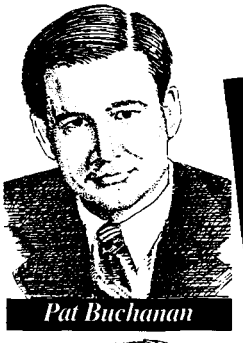
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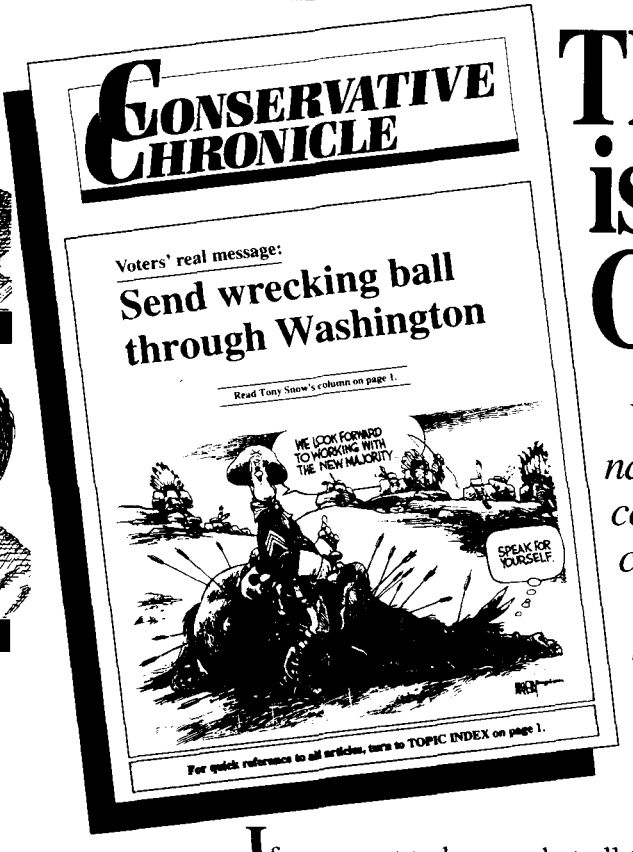
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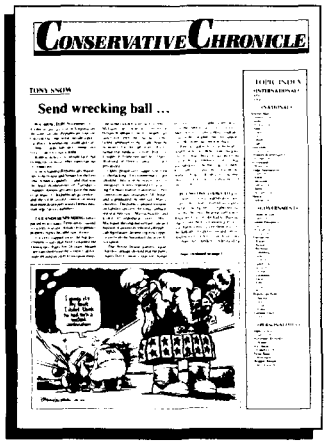

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job-training programs, interstate computer networks, or IRS agents. At best, these are Band-Aids on an infected wound. At worst, they are a form of denial—a self-defeating strategy intended to excuse our drift toward fatherlessness. The only solution to the problem of deadbeat dads is fatherhood.

How Child Support Was Federalized

PRIOR to the 1970s, requiring and enforcing child-support payments from absent fathers was almost exclusively a local matter. Caseloads were much smaller than they are today, and most of the instances involved divorce or paternal abandonment. Operating under broad guidelines set by state law, local judges typically exercised considerable authority in awarding payments and monitoring compliance.

By the early 1970s, however, an emerging demographic trend was beginning to command the attention of federal policy-makers. The initial sign was the rapid growth of federal welfare expenditures, especially under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the Federal Government's major assistance program for poor mothers and their children. AFDC was enacted in 1935 primarily to aid widows and orphans, but by the 1970s mothers receiving welfare were much less likely to be widows and much more likely to be divorced, and more likely still never to have been married.

With remarkable speed and little debate, the government's basic social contract had been redefined by the new demographics of fatherlessness. The Federal Government was no longer primarily aiding the mothers of children whose fathers had died. Now the government was primarily aiding the mothers of children whose fathers had left them. Moreover, what was true of the AFDC caseload was also true of the larger society. These fathers were not dead. They were just gone. And with each passing year, more of them were gone.

The explosion of father absence in the 1960s and 1970s was essentially voluntary—the result not of acts of God or of fate but of human decisions. Between 1960 and 1980, the proportion of children in the United States living in fatherless homes nearly doubled, from 17.5 per cent to 32.2 per cent. During this same period, the proportion of these children whose mothers were widows dropped sharply, while the proportion whose mothers were divorced or never married rose dramatically. The trend was especially pronounced among African Americans. According to the scholars William Julius Wilson and Kathryn N. Neckerman, the "number of black children growing up in fatherless families increased by 41 per cent between 1970 and 1980, and most of this growth occurred in families in which the mother had never been married."

"Your wife will leave you, taking your truck and the dog. That will launch your songwriting career."

Policy-makers thus confronted a simultaneous growth and transformation of fatherlessness. Recognition of these trends led directly to the creation during the 1970s and 1980s of a large federal and state bureaucracy devoted to enforcing private child-support payments from absent fathers. No longer would child-support issues remain local, while the Federal Government assisted widows and orphans. Now these two domains of public concern had become inextricably linked.

Congress began to federalize the issue of child support in 1975 by passing the Child Support Enforcement Amendments and establishing a federal Office of Child Support Enforcement. In 1979, the Census Bureau first began to collect national data on child-support payments. In the early 1980s, the phrase "deadbeat dad" began to appear in the media. By the late 1980s, it had become a staple of our cultural and public-policy discourse on fatherhood.

Over this period, the federal–state child-support bureaucracy grew rapidly, employing about 230 officials on the federal level and 38,000 on the state level by 1992. In recent years, virtually all states have launched efforts to identify absent fathers and to collect more child-support payments. In 1990, state spending on these efforts totaled about $1.6 billion. These massive and expanding programs constitute our society's central response—indeed, virtually our only response—to the rapid rise of volitional father absence.

Let us examine the results of this approach, comparing data from 1978–79, shortly after Congress began to federalize child-support enforcement, with data from 1989–90, the most recent years for which numbers are available. Analysis of these data yields three basic conclusions:

In only 11 years, the problem grew much larger and more intractable. In 1990, fathers were absent from 27.5 per cent of all homes inhabited by mothers and children, up from 21.6 per cent in 1979. Approximately 10 million families in 1990 consisted of mothers living with children whose fathers were absent.

Apart from the overall increase in fatherlessness, the underlying demographics shifted dramatically during these years. As a proportion of all fatherless homes, three of the four categories of father absence—divorce, remarriage, and separation—declined. But fatherlessness due to nonmarriage skyrocketed. Unwed parenthood accounted for 19 per cent of all fatherless homes in

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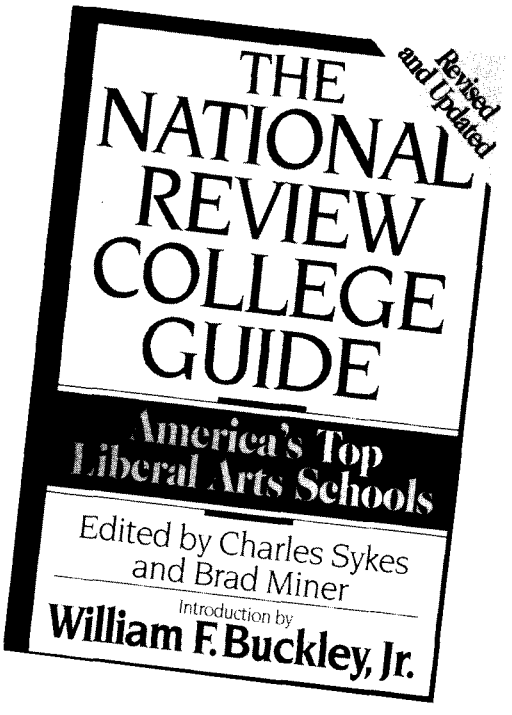
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1979. Eleven years later, it accounted for 30 per cent. Unwed parenthood has become by far the nation's fastest-growing family trend.

There are no signs that the trend is slowing down. Indeed, the most recent data from the Census Bureau and the National Center for Health Statistics suggest quite the opposite. By 1992, nonmarital childbearing had reached virtual parity with divorce as a cause of female-headed homes. Before the end of the decade, if current trends continue, unwed parenthood will become the nation's principal cause of fatherlessness.

The New Deadbeat Dad

THIS demographic shift profoundly alters the meaning of "deadbeat dad" as a cultural category. Close your eyes and picture a deadbeat dad, circa 1960 or even 1970. The image that will probably come to mind is one of a married man who has deserted his wife and children, a guy who has broken his promise, run away from his responsibilities. He has moved out of the house he once lived in, the house where his wife and children still live.

Now picture a deadbeat dad, circa 1995. He may have once lived with the mother and child. Or maybe not. Maybe he never had to move out because he never moved in. Maybe he was just around, nearby. Maybe he had, or hoped to have, a serious relationship with the mother. Or maybe not. Maybe the mother included him in her thinking about conceiving and bearing a child. Or maybe not. Maybe he never even learned about the child. Maybe the mother still wishes he would come around, spend time in the home, try to be a father to the child. Or maybe not. This guy may be the last person on earth she would want to see, or would want her child to see. In any case, there have never been any chains on this guy. Nothing formal, nothing legal. Nothing to tie him down. No promises, no piece of paper, no big commitments.

Except one. Every month for at least the next 18 years, we tell him, he is supposed to send a child-support check to the mother. If he does not, he is a deadbeat dad. He is a criminal. We need to track him down. Make him pay.

Our current cultural script wants it both ways. On the one hand, as the family scholar Frank Mott puts it, fathers are "not that important." For children and for society, fatherhood is nonessential. Consequently, we should not be alarmed as increasing numbers of women want children but not husbands. Or as increasing numbers of men father children without any intent to live with them, to raise them, to marry the mothers.

On the other hand, there is a fixed ethical and legal rule: the minimum requirement for every biological father in the U.S. is 18 years of regular child-support payments. Do anything else you want. Don't get married if you don't want to. The only rule is that you have to make those payments. We do not care about the "male image." But we are serious about the "male income."

To put it mildly, the two sides of this story are incompatible. To put it a bit more sharply, the entire story is morally unserious. Half of it is based on denial. (Fathers are not that important.) The other half is based on wishful thinking. (Make the fathers pay.)

We should make up our minds. If we expect men to be fathers, we should start telling them so. If we do not, we should admit it and stop kidding ourselves. For there is no such thing as the male income that can be systematically detached from the male image—some shard of fatherhood called child support that we can preserve, like a tiny dried flower, while we consciously throw the rest of fatherhood away.

Not surprisingly, child-support payments from absent fathers to never-married mothers are, in practical terms, insignificant. For example, while 77 per cent of divorced mothers in 1989 were awarded child-support payments, only 24 per cent of never-married mothers received an award. And among the minority of never-married mothers who actually received any payment in 1989, the mean payment per mother was only $1,888—far lower than the payment received by any other group of eligible mothers.

Payments from never-married fathers are negligible because they derive from a negligible foundation of fatherhood. Ultimately, despite our cultural script's insistence on strategies of coercion and vilification, meaningful child-support payments will come only from men who see themselves as fathers. In short, the more fatherhood, the more money. But the current trend in today's growing pool of absent fathers is exactly the opposite: less fatherhood, less money. The new-style absent fathers of the 1990s are much less likely to pay child support precisely because they are much less likely even to attempt to act as fathers toward their children.

According to Census Bureau data, about 78 per cent of all absent fathers in 1990 who had visitation privileges were also obliged to meet specific child-support payment schedules. On the other hand, while 67 per cent of divorced fathers had visitation privileges in 1990, only 33 per cent of the new-style absent fathers—those who had never married the mother—had visitation privileges, and about 73 per cent of those did not visit their children even once during 1989.

Many of these men do not consider themselves to be deadbeat dads at all. Their reasoning may be sad, but at least it is consistent. They do not think of themselves as deadbeats precisely because they do not think of themselves as dads. They never signed on to anything. They never agreed to play by any fatherhood code. They have never had any explicit obligations either to their children or to the mothers of their children. By what reasonable principle do they owe anybody anything?

Furthermore, the mothers of their children increasingly affirm this view of fatherhood. Many of the mothers simply do not want these guys around. And if the price tag for this peace of mind is, say, $1,888 in forgone child-support payments, so be it. Compared to divorced mothers, never-married mothers, when asked by the Census Bureau why they receive no child-support payments, are more likely to say "did not pursue an award"

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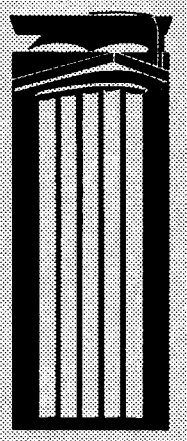

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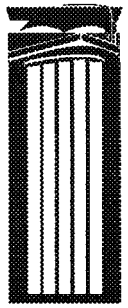

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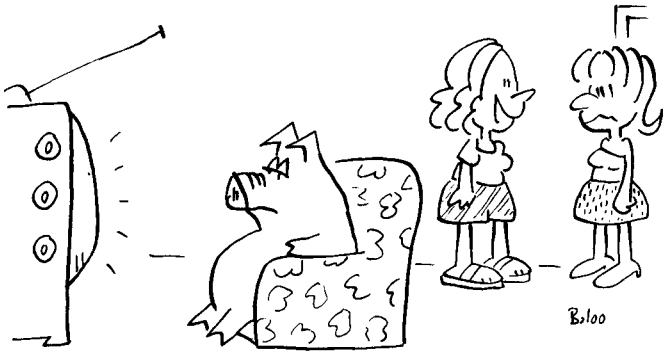
or "did not want an award." Why bother? For these mothers, the father did not leave. He was never there in the first place.

The second conclusion: *Since 1978, a continually intensifying national campaign against deadbeat dads has failed to produce any net improvement in the economic well-being of the typical fatherless child.* The notion that we are successfully cracking down on deadbeat dads may be the single most widely shared and celebrated idea in today's family-policy debate. The idea suffers from one flaw: it is not true.

Repeated claims of progress by public officials and the press are based largely on a statistical illusion, unrelated to the economic well-being of specific children. The illusion has two components. First, as the problem grows, the total caseload increases. As a result, the total number of dollars collected can increase substantially without producing any increase at all in the dollars collected per child. Second, and more important, child-support cases are now less and less likely to be handled by local courts and more likely to be handled by state and federal bureaucracies. As with the expansion of the caseload, this transfer means that state and federal agencies can collect "more" child support without producing any real gains for the typical child.

In 1989, after 11 years of intensive efforts to improve collections, per-child payments from absent fathers were virtually unchanged from those in 1978. The proportion of single mothers who were supposed to receive payments—as well as the proportion who actually received payments—was basically the same in 1989 as it had been 11 years earlier. Similarly, the mean payments received by all women who were supposed to receive money remained essentially stagnant during this period. In fact, among mothers who received support, mean payments per mother actually declined slightly in real terms from 1978 to 1989. Mean payments per mother with at least four children declined sharply.

Not only did payments received decline, but so did payments due. In 1978, the mean payment owed per mother was $3,680. By 1989, it had dropped to $3,293. Indeed, the reason for the improvement in the total child-support collection rate during this period—from 64.3 per cent in 1978 to 68.7 per cent in 1989—is not a happy one. The collection rate improved only because mean payments due decreased more rapidly than mean payments received.



"True, but a real pig husband doesn't ever get jealous or criticize your housekeeping."

Over all, here is the best that can be said about our child-support enforcement program from 1978 to 1989: our continually escalating efforts kept us roughly even with the continually escalating problem. In other words, our best exertions were enough to keep things from getting much worse, much faster—faint praise, indeed, for a gamble on which we have bet the entire farm.

The third conclusion: *Even when awarded and paid, child support typically reflects the loss rather than the continuation of a father's economic provision.* In 1989, among the minority of mothers living with fatherless children who were supposed to receive child-support payments, the mean payment received was $2,252. Similarly, among all mothers who actually received payments, the mean payment was $2,995. Among divorced mothers who received payments, the mean payment was $3,322. To simplify, call it $3,000 in child support per participating family. According to quite conservative estimates from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the direct annual expenditures on a single 3-to-5-year-old child in a two-parent, middle-income family during 1990 totaled approximately $8,000; for two children under age 17, expenditures totaled about $14,000; and for three children, about $17,000.

The $30,000 Father v. *the $3,000 Father*

IN 1990, the median income for married couples with at least one child under 18 was $41,260. For female-headed households with at least one child, the median income was $13,092. To simplify, let us say that a man working full time in 1990 earned about $30,000 and a woman working full time earned about $20,000.

Thus a married father in 1990 typically contributed about $30,000 to the family fund. But this $30,000 father is not simply doling out carefully circumscribed payments. He is helping to create a home for his family. He is not just a contributor. He is a participant. There is no "them." There is just "us." The house he lives in also houses the other members of the family. The food he puts in the refrigerator, the Christmas tree he decorates, the TV he watches, the car he drives, the insurance he buys, the vacation he plans for—all these ways of spending that $30,000 contribute to the well-being of his wife and children.

If he gets a raise at work, some of the extra money may be frittered away in poker games, but typically most of it will go directly, without any court order requiring it, toward improving the economic well-being of the entire family. If a sudden crisis strikes—for example, if a child becomes seriously ill—as much of the $30,000 as possible is likely to be mobilized in response to the crisis.

Moreover, the $30,000 father typically does not stop contributing to the family fund at some specified moment. In most states, child-support payments usually stop when children reach the age of 18. But the $30,000

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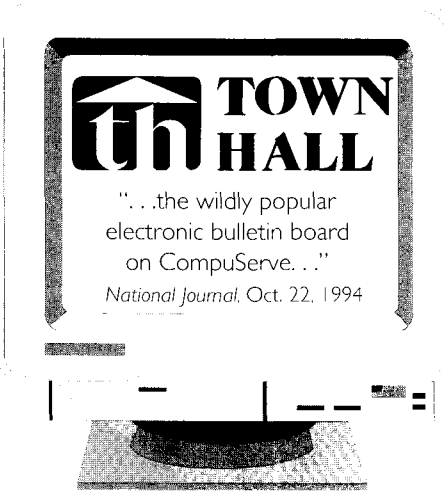

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father is quite likely to help pay for college educations for his over-18 children. Just as likely, he will help his over-18 children purchase a first used car or rent a first apartment. Perhaps his children will continue to live in the home after age 18, or return after being on their own for a while, in the aftermath of a lost job or an ended marriage. In all these instances, the father's contributions are likely to continue.

Compare this $30,000 father to a reformed deadbeat dad, a guy who now regularly sends his child-support payments. His $3,000 represents about 10 per cent of the median male wage and slightly less than 40 per cent of the estimated direct annual costs of raising a single 3-to-5-year-old child. If there are two children, the $3,000 represents about 20 per cent of direct yearly costs.

So even if the absent father pays his $3,000 in child support, the single mother must still come up with about $5,000, or more than 60 per cent of all direct expenses, for her one young child. If she has two children, she must provide $11,000, or almost 80 per cent of all direct expenses. If she cannot afford to do so—recall that the 1990 median family income for female-headed households was $13,000—she must do what millions of mothers in her position do. She and her children must make do with less, leaving the broad middle class and accepting the reality of economic vulnerability.

For the $30,000 father, the child-support ceiling—the most he can be expected to contribute—is somewhere near $30,000. For the $3,000 father, the very structure of his situation means that his child-support ceiling is exactly $3,000. If he marries another woman and has new children to support—or if he moves to a different state, or loses his job, or gets sick, or perhaps simply takes up an expensive hobby—he will be inclined to seek to pay less, not more. He is no longer a participant. He is a funder, a taxpayer. More importantly, even if he never misses a payment, the $3,000 in child support does not even begin to match the value of the economic provision of the typical married father.

Choosing a Strategy

WHAT is the best strategy for reducing the number of deadbeat dads? One approach is to do more of the same. Get tough. If that fails, get tougher. Pass stricter laws. Crack down harder. This strategy enjoys overwhelming bipartisan support in Washington, in state legislatures, among policy analysts, and among opinion leaders in the media.

Maybe it will work. If all goes well, perhaps the mean child-support payment could reach, say, $4,000 a year by the end of the decade. But don't count on it. So far, the problem has continued to grow faster than any of our efforts to solve it. With each passing year, more and more children do not live with their fathers, just as more and more men father children without feeling even the slightest sense of paternal obligation. There is little evidence that new and improved collection techniques will do much to reverse, or even keep pace with, this basic demographic trend.

Another approach is to recognize reality and figure out a better, more workable way to support children. Two of the nation's leading scholars in this area have come quite close to recommending this strategy.

In 1979, just as the nation was beginning to federalize the problem of child support, David L. Chambers published *Making Fathers Pay*, an influential analysis of child-support enforcement procedures. Chambers argues against using the threat of jail as a primary means of enforcing child-support orders, urging wage withholding instead. But ultimately, he suggests, no enforcement strategy can counteract the steady decomposition of fatherhood. In the future, Chambers speculates, long-term child support from an absent father may become "an anachronism." Even in cases of divorce, he reasons, the best option might be to require child support from the father "for only a few years after separation," after which time he "would have no enforceable rights in or duties to the child."

In 1992, just as the nation was completing the federalization of the child-support problem, Irwin Garfinkel published *Assessing Child Support*. Garfinkel urges us to try to collect more and larger payments from absent fathers. But like Chambers, he is a realist. Accordingly, he recommends that the government pay child support whenever fathers fail to do so. The appeal of this idea is clear. Unlike our current approach, a federal assurance of child support would guarantee the delivery of more money to fatherless children and their mothers.

The drawback is equally clear. Garfinkel's proposal would shift responsibility from fathers to the state, effectively subsidizing fatherlessness. As a result, millions of mothers would come to rely on government, not on fathers, for help in raising their children. Providing for a child would become less the specific responsibility of one father than the general responsibility of society.

Sure, both of these scholars tell us, try hard. Be tough. But be realistic. A lot of these guys will never pay. Therefore, we must make other plans. From different vantage points, both urge us to abandon our exclusive reliance on a "get tougher" approach to child support. But consider for a moment a third idea—essentially absent from today's debate but worth pondering. That idea is fatherhood. What if this issue is not really about court orders or police procedures at all, but about the meaning of manhood in our society? What if child support finally has almost nothing to do with the male income and almost everything to do with the male image?

Perhaps, as Chambers and Garfinkel suggest, it is ultimately futile for society to insist on obtaining payments from this new sort-of father, the $3,000-a-year father who does not live with his children. But instead of lowering standards, what if we raised them? What if we insisted on more of the real thing: the $30,000-a-year father who lives with his children? What if the whole idea of "child support," understood as a viable and enforceable way of life for millions of detached men, turns out to be largely a mirage? What if there is simply no sustainable halfway house between fatherhood and fatherlessness? What if we have only two choices? □

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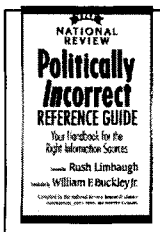

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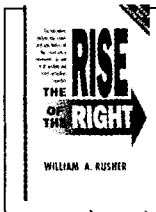

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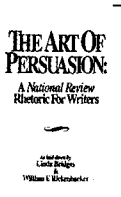

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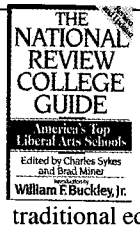
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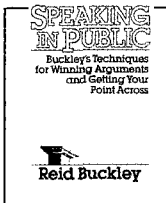

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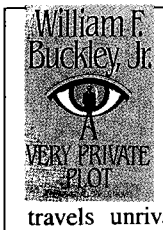

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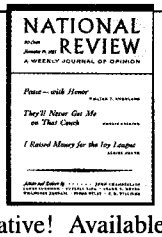

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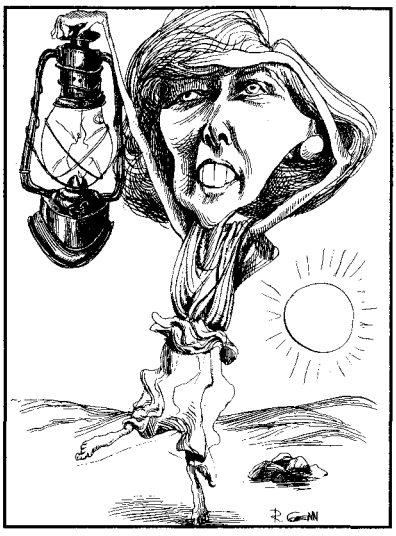

The Assault on Newt

MUD PATH

The baseless accusations against House Speaker Newt Gingrich show how much he worries the liberal establishment—and how little his critics really care about ethics.

GEORGE TOBIN

INSOFAR as the 104th Congress is in the business of tort reform, a good place to start would be to impose a "loser pays" rule for false ethics charges made against members of Congress. The February 23 filing against House Speaker Newt Gingrich by Pat Schroeder (D., Colo.), Harry Johnston (D., Fla.), and Cynthia McKinney (D., Ga.) and the March 8 filing by David Bonior (D., Mich.) are unfounded, frivolous, and conspicuously malicious.

Representatives Schroeder, Johnston, and McKinney charge that Mr. Gingrich accepted "free" air time from Mind Extension University to broadcast "certain of his lectures." They further charge that because MEU is a subsidiary of Jones Intercable, a firm with "substantial interests before the U.S. Congress," Gingrich has violated House Rule 43, which bars solicitation or acceptance of anything of value from an interested party, and the Ethics in Government Act of 1989. Representative Bonior alleges that Mr. Gingrich misused congressional resources by publicizing his college course in four speeches and by reciting the course's toll-free number on the House floor in April 1993.

As a matter of legal analysis, the charges are unsustainable. There are no grey areas or issues of subtle statutory interpretation. It is not possible that these sitting members of Congress lack access to qualified legal counsel who could explain the issues. Nor is it possible that these charges represent a good-faith misunderstanding of issues that have been rehashed in major newspapers for more than a year.

These attacks are the latest (but almost certainly not the last) in a long series of assaults on Gingrich and his "Renewing American Civilization" college course. To appreciate fully the emptiness and mean-spiritedness of these attacks, it will be useful to review the history of the course.

In January 1993 Newt Gingrich developed a concept for a course in American history. In a March 1993 speech he said he would like to resume teaching while in Congress because he believed that an intellectual renewal of core American values was the key to solving our domestic problems. A member of the audience, Tim Mescon, dean of the business school at Kennesaw State College, approached Gingrich after the speech and invited him to do the course at Kennesaw State. The target date was the spring term of 1994.

Gingrich's idea for the course was characteristically weighty and high tech. He envisioned televised lecture and video presentations, team-teaching assignments, a daunting reading list, and a format suitable for expanding the number of participating sites and classrooms. By May 1993, production of this ambitious package was behind schedule. Gingrich asked Jeff Eisenach, then executive director of GOPAC, the fund for Republican congressional candidates, to be program director for the new course. Mr. Eisenach agreed and gave GOPAC a letter of resignation, effective June 1, 1993. Eisenach's firm, the Washington Policy Group, continued to serve GOPAC under contract. His salary as project director was paid by the Kennesaw State College Foundation, the sponsoring organization for the project. His firm's fee from GOPAC was cut in half, since he would be dividing his time between two clients.

Asking the Ethics Committee

ON MAY 12, 1993, Mr. Gingrich sent a three-page letter to the co-chairmen of the House Ethics Committee outlining his plans to teach the course at Kennesaw State. In the letter he mentioned that he had discussed it with then Speaker Tom Foley (D., Wash.) and then Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D., Mo.). He concluded, "If the Committee has any concerns about this project, I would be glad to meet with your staff and develop a set of guidelines that will protect the integrity of the House and the integrity of the intellectual project."

On July 21, Gingrich again wrote the Ethics Committee, providing further details. He informed the committee that members of his staff would be asked to comment on the course content but would not be asked to perform any specific tasks. Gingrich said he intended to seek comments from Democratic members of Congress such as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) and Representative John Lewis (D., Ga.). He also said he would include course materials in House Special Orders (the after-hours "open-mike" period during which members discuss any topics they choose).

On August 3, Representative Fred Grandy (R., Iowa), then ranking minority member of the Ethics Commit-

Mr. Tobin is a Washington attorney and freelance writer.

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tee, responded to Gingrich on behalf of the committee. Because Gingrich would receive no compensation for teaching the course, Mr. Grandy said, he did not need special permission from the committee. Grandy also confirmed that Gingrich's intended use of Special Orders was well within his prerogative as a member of Congress. The letter advised Gingrich that he could actively raise funds for any IRS-qualified nonprofit organization so long as no congressional funds were used.

The attacks on the course began almost immediately. In the summer of 1993, Stephen Bruning, a former Democratic Party county chairman in Georgia, attacked the course's academic status. He demanded thousands of documents from the Kennesaw State College Foundation under Georgia's Freedom of Information Act. Parallel to this attack was a protest by a small minority of Kennesaw State faculty against the alleged political bias of the course. This controversy prompted a review by the Board of Regents for the Georgia state university system. The regents deemed the course to be substantive and genuinely academic in scope and content. The president of Kennesaw State then approved the course.

It would have been difficult for the regents to reach any other conclusion. The list of advisors for the course, both academics and policy experts, is lengthy and impressive. The course has since been offered for full or partial credit at UC Berkeley, Clemson, Emory, Penn State, and 18 other colleges and universities. One may reasonably deduce that the course would be offered more widely but for the predictable opposition of the tenured Left on many campuses. Where the course *is* offered, its appearance usually involves a fight.

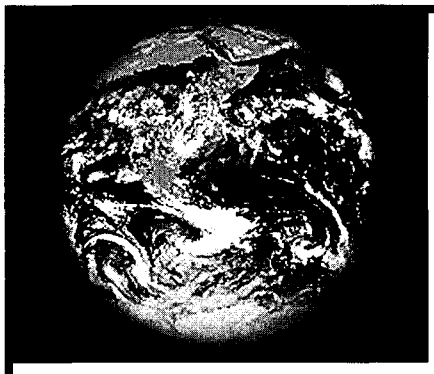
Undaunted by the failure to discredit the academic substance of the course, Gingrich's enemies within Georgia's state-university system tried a different tack. In October 1993, without prior notice, a motion was placed before the Board of Regents to institute a rule that no elected official be permitted to teach, even without compensation, on a state-supported campus. The rule was passed, effectively barring Gingrich from using Kennesaw State as a base for his program. Again, the person who proposed the rule was a Democratic activist, Juanita Powell Baranco, a Clinton fund-raiser.

On November 30, 1993, the Kennesaw State College Foundation formally turned over the project to the Washington-based Progress and Freedom Foundation (PFF), which Jeff Eisenach and others had founded earlier that year. Kennesaw disengaged from further association with the course, which in December was moved to Reinhardt College, a private institution in Waleska, Georgia. From Reinhardt, the course has been broadcast nationally for more than a year.

Product Placement?

THE next line of attack, opened by the *Washington Post* and the *Atlanta Constitution* in the fall of 1993 and rehashed at length in *Roll Call* and the *Wall Street Journal* a year later, was that Gingrich cited corporations in his course as a form of advertising for his sponsors. The facts don't confirm this charge. Only 7 per cent of the $660,000 in contributions to produce and broadcast the course came from companies mentioned in the lectures. Of the two dozen corporate sponsors, four were mentioned. In every case where a corporation was mentioned, the example had already been used in Gingrich's previously existing, evolving speech on "Renewing American Civilization."

Roll Call widened the attack, alleging that Gingrich's political donors were getting special treatment in course input. The alleged smoking gun was a donation of roughly $25,000



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made by the Employment Policy Institute (EPI), a think tank backed by the food-service industry, after a memorandum from GOPAC treasurer Pamela Prochnow suggested that Mr. Eisenach contact EPI and ask for a donation. During the first few weeks after Eisenach took charge of the course project, he asked Miss Prochnow to advise the Progress and Freedom Foundation on fund-raising, and she made the suggestion in that context. She had limited contact with the project in its first few weeks under Eisenach and none thereafter. In the video lectures Gingrich does mention the food-service industry as a major source of employment, as he has done for years, usually as part of a response to the standard liberal critique that the Reagan growth years produced only "hamburger-flipping" jobs.

Overlooked in the media crush is the fact that EPI is not a lobbying organization but a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization intended to promote awareness of the need for and value of jobs in the food-service industry. A thorough analysis of the EPI contribution to the "Renewing American Civilization" course, written by tax analyst Lee Shepard, appeared in the September 20, 1993, issue of the authoritative *Tax Notes Today*. The bottom line is that a) there is nothing improper about a 501(c)(3) organization giving money to another 501(c)(3); b) the executive of the donor organization has an obligation to review the activity of the recipient group to ensure that it is consistent with the mission of the donor organization; and c) Gingrich's treatment of employment economics in the course reflected his long-held positions. Naturally, this reputation of the charge of favoritism and influence peddling has not been cited, much less rebutted, in any of the pieces attacking Mr. Gingrich's course.

The issue of favoritism for political donors creates a no-win situation for Mr. Gingrich and, in retrospect, one he should have taken greater care to avert. He is a great admirer and promoter of successful entrepreneurs and is manifestly sincere in his praise for their achievements. But because some of them, such as Roger and Gerrish Milliken, are also heavy campaign contributors to GOPAC, allegations of favoritism are unavoidable (even though Gingrich has always opposed the protectionist policies that the Millikens favor). Newt Gingrich, of all people, should know that his enemies would seize on such a perceived link. From the standpoint of House rules or the tax laws regarding nonprofits, there is nothing improper about mentioning examples of corporate success in a course, even if some of the companies are campaign donors. But for on-campus critics eager to find grounds to disparage the course, such citations are easy targets.

Hitting the Links

THE other ongoing theme of media attacks is that, because Jeff Eisenach's consulting firm was under contract to GOPAC when he started the Progress and Freedom Foundation, there must be a sordid political connection. But neither Gingrich nor GOPAC was involved in creating the Progress and Freedom Foundation, which Eisenach and several friends established in April 1993. The foundation has never provided funds or services to GOPAC or received funds or services from it.

The alleged GOPAC link is a staple of articles attacking Gingrich's college course. On October 31, 1994, Ben Jones, about to be trounced by Gingrich in Georgia's redrawn 6th District, rehashed the same confused allegation when he filed an ethics charge against Gingrich. Specifically, Mr. Jones alleged that Gingrich's course was funded by GOPAC and that this was a breach of ethics and of federal tax law. Even if it were true that GOPAC funded the college course (which it is not), such funding would have been permissible and ethical. Political entities such as PACs may give money to charitable or educational nonprofits. Only the reverse is unlawful. If the Democratic National Committee decided to give its funds to United Way charities instead of spending money on 1996 campaigns, that would be lawful as well as commendable. But it would be unlawful for the United Way to give money to the DNC.

Mr. Jones also alleged that the course was "developed with taxpayer support" in the form of tax-deductible contributions to the nonprofit Kennesaw State College Foundation. The Kennesaw State College Foundation did fund and promote the development of the course, but such activity is unquestionably lawful. Both it and the Progress and Freedom Foundation are bona-fide 501(c)(3) nonprofits, certified as such by the Internal Revenue Service. Involvement in educational projects is exactly what they are expected to undertake.

Lastly, Jones alleged that Gingrich used congressional staff and resources to prepare the course. There is no merit to this charge. Gingrich informed the Ethics Committee *more than six months in advance* that he would consult his staff for opinions about course focus and content but not assign them course-related tasks. There is no evidence that Gingrich has used staff time to develop the course. There is, however, considerable evidence that Jeffrey Eisenach did virtually all the developmental leg work and that Gingrich had full editorial control.

In 1994 Gingrich did publicly confess an error in which a congressional fax machine was used to send a one-page letter concerning the course. Upon discovering the error, Gingrich reim-

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bursed the U.S. Treasury $2.25. Though not mentioned, this offense is presumably incorporated by reference in Bonior's March 8 charges.

The Book Deal

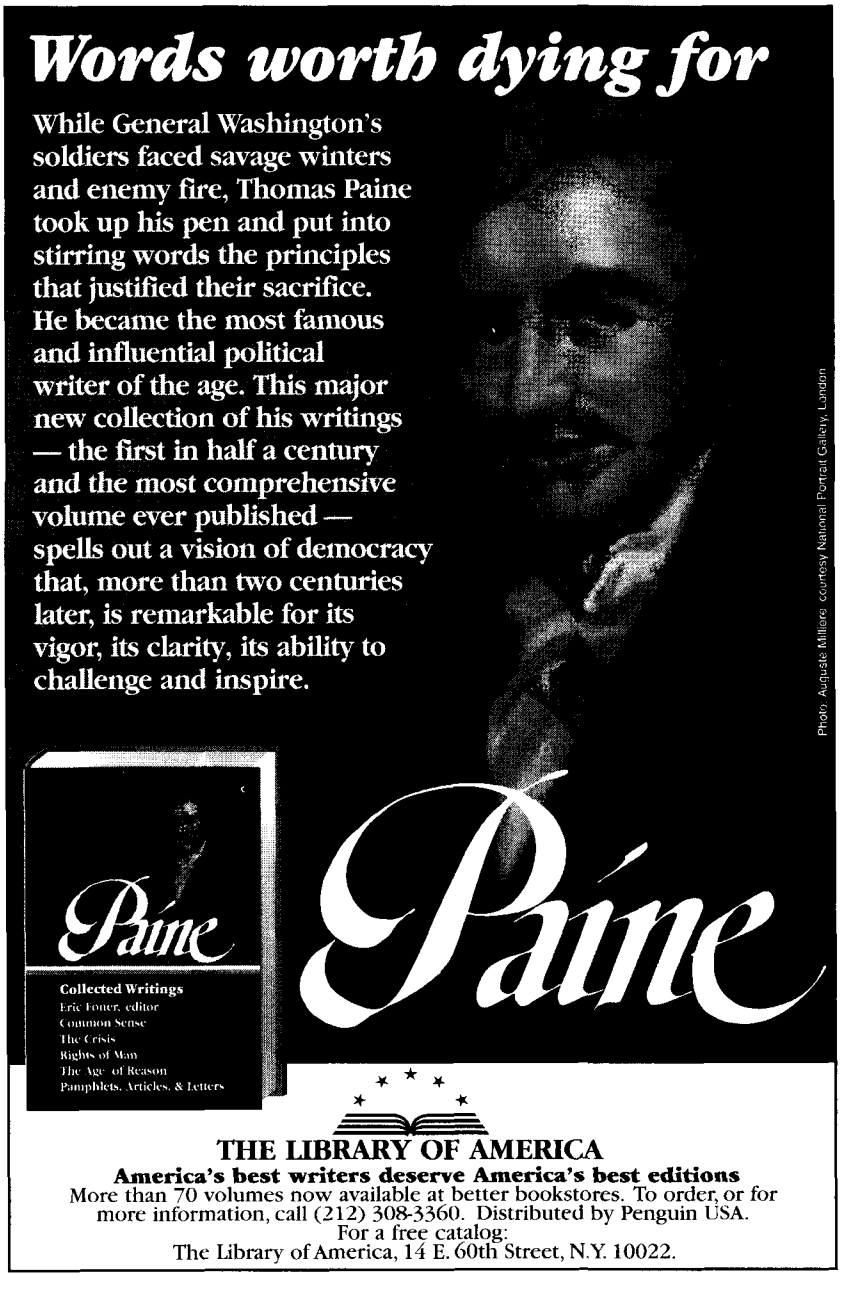
ON JANUARY 20, 1995, Jones announced that he would amend his complaint to include the charge that Mr. Gingrich's $4.5-million, two-book deal with HarperCollins was unethical. The fact that House Rule 47(3)(e)(5) expressly permits members to accept royalties "from established publishers pursuant to usual and customary contract terms" has not deterred Mr. Jones or his admirers in the House minority. The size of the contract and the notion that Rupert Murdoch must somehow be involved are thought to call the deal into question.

Some of the least lucid commentary on the Gingrich book deal was offered by ABC's Sam Donaldson. On *This Week with David Brinkley*, Donaldson said the Gingrich royalties were far more troubling than former House Speaker Jim Wright's book-deal scandal because Mr. Wright received only "one or two hundred thousand—this is 4.5 million." Although one doesn't generally expect crisp distinctions from Mr. Donaldson, this was an egregiously stupid comparison even for him. Wright took a 55 per cent royalty on a publication put out by a vanity press and sold almost entirely to lobbyists in bulk for the sole purpose of evading the federal statute banning the payment of honoraria to members of Congress. In contrast, Gingrich is a legitimate author and now arguably the nation's most influential political theorist. The rights to his book were acquired by a genuine publisher whose bid exceeded that of several other publishing houses (the next-highest bid was $4.1 million). The notion that this was an elaborate scheme to bribe Newt Gingrich to adopt free-market policies in telecommunications is laughable.

Typical of the pack mentality that pursues Gingrich was the comment by the increasingly disagreeable Mr. Bonior that the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct "will deadlock" and therefore a special counsel is needed. If Mr. Bonior based his prediction on discussions with committee members, that would itself constitute an ethics violation. If this was a public hint that the Democratic House leadership wants a guilty verdict from Democratic members of the committee, that too is an ethics violation.

The February 23 filing by Representatives Schroeder, Johnston, and McKinney is typical of the now familiar attack genre. Accurately described by Gingrich's press secretary, Tony Blankley, as an act of "malicious imbecility," the complaint alleges that Gingrich received an estimated $150,000 to $200,000 worth of air time from Mind Extension University. The reality is that Gingrich received nothing. He is an unpaid lecturer for a program produced by a nonprofit educational organization. The fact that someone airs his lectures does not constitute a gift under any definition.

Mind Extension University is a basic cable channel. It works with more than 35 colleges and universities to air courses, mostly in conjunction with credit programs. MEU claims about 26 million viewers and has been in operation for just over seven years. It does not pay any of the course providers. The course providers do not pay it. The benefit to the course providers is solely in exposure and in any credit fees or royalty rights paid by end users for video, course accreditation, or book sales. "Renewing American Civilization" got the same deal that every other course on MEU gets. In fact, the Progress and Freedom Foundation has to spend about $1,000 per broadcast week on satellite uplink fees to get the course to MEU.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Collected Writings
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The next charge by Mrs. Schroeder et al. is that because MEU is a subsidiary of Jones Intercable, a firm with "substantial interests before the U.S. Congress," Mr. Gingrich has unlawfully accepted a gift from an interested party. As a technical matter, MEU is a sister firm, not a subsidiary, of Jones Intercable. There is no operating connection between the two. Therefore, Schroeder & Co.'s recitation of Jones Intercable's 1994 lobbying expenditures is irrelevant.

Schroeder & Co. also advance the theory that Gingrich is opposed to funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting because Glen R. Jones, founder and CEO of Jones Intercable, expressed an interest in the "takeover of the Public Broadcasting System" and because PBS fired the consulting firm of former Representative Vin Weber, who in his congressional days was an ally of Gingrich's.

Leaving aside the inconvenient fact that Gingrich (an unpaid lecturer for an accredited college course developed by a bona-fide nonprofit foundation) has personally received nothing at all from Jones or any firm connected with Jones Intercable, the Schroeder standard that any appearance of an elected figure on television in a context other than a paid campaign spot constitutes a donation of air time is quite novel. By this line of reasoning, when Representative Schroeder assumes the guest chair on CNN's *Capital Gang*, she knowingly receives free air time from Ted Turner, a man with considerable interests in telecommunications legislation. Picking up on this point, Majority Leader Dick Armey (R., Tex.) immediately turned himself and Representative Bonior in to the House Ethics Committee on the grounds that their recent appearance on *This Week with David Brinkley* constituted an unlawful acceptance of about $600,000 in free air time. The committee has yet to rule on the Armey confession.

Not to be outdone, the *Washington Post* belatedly discovered on March 5 of this year that Newt Gingrich had recited the toll-free 800 number for his course from the House floor on April 12, 1994, thus causing the number to be printed in the *Congressional Record*. The offending passage came near the end of Gingrich's now-standard American Renewal speech and went as follows: "any of my colleagues or their staffs or any of their constituents who would be interested, you can learn more about that by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW, which is an 800 number that was set up to allow people to learn more about the course." The *Post* article, headlined "Gingrich Promoted College Course on House Floor Despite Warning" and written by *Post* reporter Serge F. Kovaleski, opens as follows: "When House Speaker Newt Gingrich sought permission in 1993 to teach a college course sponsored by a private foundation, the House Ethics Committee cautioned him to avoid using congressional resources to solicit for the group. But that did not stop the Georgia Republican from pitching his course from the House floor last year."

The clear implication is that the Ethics Committee had issued an express warning that Gingrich flouted. In fact, the "warning" was a summary of the House rules pertaining to members raising funds for nonprofit groups. The relevant sentence from Fred Grandy's August 3 letter reads: "As to your question on fund-raising, the Committee has previously determined that Members may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under Section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results." In other words, the committee merely restated the rule while giving Mr. Gingrich a green light to pursue the project. Not only was he authorized to discuss his course during Special Orders, but he was expressly told that as a member of the House he could place the *entire content* of the course lectures in the *Record*. To say that Gingrich was "warned" and ignored the warning is not merely a distortion; it is the exact reverse of the truth.

Kovaleski could not find an expert who would say the statement containing the 800 number was unethical. So, in the finest tradition of the *Washington Post*, unnamed "congressional specialists" turned up to say that "at the very least, the lawmaker's remarks were inappropriate."

Comparing Clouds

IN THE *Congressional Quarterly* of March 4, 1995, the House minority's designated mudslinger, Representative Bonior, is quoted as follows: "The Speaker's negative numbers are way up in the 50th percentile. That's because of all these deals he's done and the ethical cloud hanging over his head. The former Speaker's [Jim Wright's] problems were a pimple on an elephant compared to what is allegedly out there on Mr. Gingrich." Mr. Bonior is correct. The *actual* crimes of Jim Wright *are* greatly exceeded by the *alleged* infractions of Newt Gingrich. The fact that the allegations are false is immaterial to Bonior, so long as the polling data turn out right.

It is noteworthy that all 12 of the attachments to the February 23 Schroeder–Johnston–McKinney screed are citations from newspaper articles. No legal citations, documents, or letters are presented. In essence, the accusers can plant stories and then cite them as "evidence" of misdeeds. Indeed, Bonior cited Kovaleski's hit piece when he filed his March 8 complaint alleging

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that reciting the number violated House rules.

It is not surprising that Newt Gingrich has been singled out for abuse. The travails of his "Renewing American Civilization" course show that he is recognized as a mortal threat to the establishment. Twenty years ago, there was no danger of an intellectual or political revolution. Dangerous new ideas could be discredited on campus by a tenured elite, kept off the air by a three-network media universe, or killed in subcommittee by senior Democrats. Newt Gingrich represents not only a new message but the expansion of new media. In many respects, he is far more dangerous to the establishment than Ronald Reagan ever was.

It is not in the national interest to permit the assault on Gingrich to succeed. Not only would the diminution of Newt Gingrich be a blow to the reform movement under way in Congress, but it would create a crippling distraction for Democrats, who should be engaging in the new debate. The Democratic Party needs to rethink its mission and cannot waste precious time following the lead of malicious lightweights.

Perhaps the best thing average citizens can do is file ethics charges themselves. Ralph Nader does it all the time; why can't the rest of us? And why should Newt Gingrich get all the attention when more suitable targets abound? The first provision of the House's Code of Official Conduct reads as follows: "A Member, officer, or employee of the House of Representatives shall conduct himself at all times in a manner which shall reflect creditably on the House of Representatives."

Ask yourself if Gingrich's accusers meet that standard. If they don't, why not file? Inquiries as to form and procedure can be directed to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, HT2, The Capitol, Washington, D.C. 20515 (202-225-7103). □

Russia's Pre-Election Jitters

RUNNING SCARED

Boris Yeltsin is so unpopular that running for re-election could amount to abdication.

JULIAN MANYON

WHEN he is not bawling at Euro MPs in Strasbourg or embracing Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, Vladimir Zhirinovsky is pressing the flesh in dreary industrial backwaters all over Russia, preparing for next year's presidential election. But though the style is superficially Western, the content is not. No U.S. candidate could hope to win with anything resembling Zhirinovsky's extremist platform, and American office-seekers have learned that confessions of serial adultery and publicly stated interest in group sex do not play well on the campaign trail. Zhirinovsky's recent interview on his campaign boat with a female correspondent from *Playboy*, in which he invited her to strip and have intercourse with his son and bodyguards while he watched, has been widely reported in Russia. It caused some mirth but does not appear to have damaged his standing.

Perhaps this is partly because there is still deep cynicism over whether the promised elections, for Parliament in December and for the presidency by June 1996, will in fact take place. In his State of the Nation address in February, Boris Yeltsin pledged that both elections would take place as scheduled. But that has not reassured the doubters. They point out that Russia has no tradition of orderly transfers of power between political opponents. And with the president's rat-

Mr. Manyon is Moscow correspondent for Independent Television News (ITN). The views expressed here are not necessarily those of ITN.

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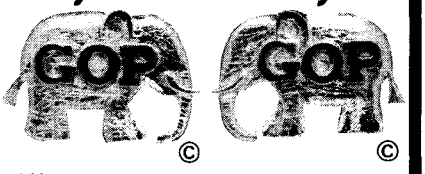

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ing, in a February poll on voting intentions, at an all-time low of 3 per cent, submitting himself for re-election could be the equivalent of abdication. Cynics point to a recent statement by Yeltsin's ally Vladimir Shumeiko, chairman of the upper chamber of the Parliament: "What Russia needs is not elections but stability." Speculation continues that the men around Yeltsin are looking for a suitable moment in Russia's continuing crisis to declare the need for emergency measures and the postponement of elections.

If elections *are* held, one important question must be answered before any assessment of possible winners and losers can begin: Will the vote be fair? In an interview with French television, Grigory Yavlinsky, who led in the opinion poll quoted above with 14 per cent, said the result of a presidential election was likely to be affected by fraud. He expressed the hope that vote rigging would not be used to propel Zhirinovsky into power. This is not just scare-mongering. There is compelling evidence that fraud played a critical part in the constitutional referendum held simultaneously with the parliamentary elections in December 1993, three months after Yeltsin terminated the former Supreme Soviet with tanks. The impact of fraud on the parliamentary elections is still difficult to decipher, not least because detailed constituency results have only recently been published. However, it is reasonably clear that the results of the vital referendum, which Yeltsin had to win in order to legitimize the new political system he was determined to introduce, were falsified. For the referendum to be valid more than 50 per cent of the electorate had to take part, and after some confusion on polling day the authorities duly announced that 51 per cent of eligible voters had done so, with 58 per cent of them supporting Yeltsin's new constitution.

Since then the pro-reform newspaper *Izvestia* has reported that, in fact, only 46 per cent of eligible voters turned out. Prosecutors in a number of areas have accused local officials of fraud. After the referendum the supervisor of one Moscow polling station committed suicide, saying in a final letter that he had "grossly deceived the people." Yet the official who supervised the election nationwide, Nikolai Ryabov, is due to organize the next one.

So a guess at the presidential winner is not something to bet the family savings on. Conventional politics would suggest starting with the man leading in the polls, Grigory Yavlinsky. Youthful and telegenic, he is a respected economist who drew up a five-hundred-day recovery plan for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. It was never implemented, and Yavlinsky has since done his best to remain in the public eye without getting tarred by the dirty brushes that have smeared many of his potential opponents.

He condemned the storming of the White House while declining to support those inside it. He avoided association with Yegor Gaidar's ham-fisted attempts at economic reform, and he advised President Yeltsin not to use force against the Chechens. He is widely liked and respected among intelligent Russians, not least by presidential advisor Sergei Karaganov, who when I asked him to assess Yavlinsky's chances nonetheless replied, "Not just zero, less than zero!" The trouble, it seems, is that Yavlinsky has no firm base of support in the army, the security services, or anywhere else where power really lies.

The G-Men

SUPPORT for Mikhail Gorbachev, who is visibly toying with a return to politics, stood at zero in the February poll. Another possible candidate who is widely seen as having no chance at all is Yegor Gaidar. He had only 2 per cent in the poll and, just as important, an army of enemies who will do almost anything to stop him.

One of those is the ultra-nationalist Zhirinovsky, who continues to command solid backing. He had 6 per cent in the poll, but this may underestimate his appeal, since respondents are probably reluctant to admit their extremist preference. Loved, in spite of his escapades, by Russia's army of bigoted *babushkas* (a powerful force in Russian public opinion) and by taxi drivers everywhere, he can be counted on to get his vote out and to gain strength as polling day approaches.

"Rafferty, how would you like to be a free agent?"

If Russia's political establishment has its way, Zhirinovsky will finish as an also-ran, perhaps getting to the second round of the planned French-style election but destined to be defeated by a more moderate candidate. He is seen as a useful bogeyman for frightening the West into continued support for the present ramshackle political structure but far too dangerous, even in Russia, to be president.

So what result do Russia's power brokers want? Those closest to Yeltsin are looking at their increasingly decrepit boss with mounting feelings of insecurity. If his political grip weakens further, or his sorely tested health fails, they could find themselves swept out of power and even facing trial. Signs are growing that some members of this elite would like Yeltsin to step aside gracefully, anointing a viable successor who would then carry their banner into the elections.

One much discussed scenario involves President Yeltsin stepping down to become a life member of Parliament's upper chamber, the Federation Council, a move that would provide him with legal immunity from future prosecution. His successor under the constitution would be Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who would then run for election on a ticket of dependable continuity.

There are only two problems with this scenario. The first is that Chernomyrdin lacks both charisma and electoral appeal. The second is that Yeltsin shows no sign of wanting to go. In spite of controversy over his sometimes incoherent public appearances and the open disrespect he now encounters from some of his underlings, the president seems determined to fight on. He is apparently counting on the lack of a viable alternative to bring back support to his camp, and his proven toughness in a crisis means that displacing him will be a formidable task.

The central question is the extent to which Russia's power elite can shape

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an election result to their liking. Today it is openly admitted that the broadcast of a violently anti-Zhirinovsky documentary on the eve of the last parliamentary elections was the result of a high-level order designed to stem the rising tide of support for him. In fact the program provided the extremist leader with valuable publicity and probably boosted his vote.

The authorities have learned since then and will be more subtle next time. They will have a powerful influence on how the electoral game is played. But in a country as varied as the new Russia, where freedom of speech has taken hold, a presidential election is likely to remain a dangerously unpredictable affair. For that reason it may in the end prove, in spite of all the promises, an unattractive option for those currently holding power. □

Ending American Apartheid

BAD FENCES

To preserve American democracy, we must return to the original aims of the Voting Rights Act.

CLINT BOLICK

CLARENCE THOMAS likes to keep his powder dry. As an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Thomas tends to abstain from the wide-ranging rhetorical struggles many of his colleagues fancy. He chooses his battles carefully; but when he engages, he does so with a clarity of purpose and vision all too rare in contemporary jurisprudence.

It was perhaps fitting that Thomas delivered the tour de force of his young judicial career last June in a concurring opinion in a technical voting-rights dispute. For Thomas, *Holder* v. *Hall* was the latest episode in a saga of judicial activism that has torn apart our nation's racial fabric. Thomas's sweeping call to overturn 25 years of misguided precedents commands far less than majority support on the Court. But in the tradition of great dissents, it is a clarion call that will demand recurrent attention, summed up in one bold word: *Enough*.

Voting-rights cases are rarely paid serious attention by conservatives. Until the Supreme Court's 1993 decision in *Shaw* v. *Reno* striking down blatant racial gerrymandering, concern on the Right over such cases was restricted largely to GOP strategists who cheered efforts by the opposite end of the ideological spectrum to pack black voters into segregated districts—a practice that helped deliver Congress to the Republicans last November [see "Racial Lines," *NR*, Feb. 20].

The Left, by contrast, has for decades placed voting-rights cases high on its litigation agenda. The surprising setback in *Shaw* has only strengthened its resolve. Last year the Carnegie Foundation awarded a $500,000 grant to the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights to litigate voting-rights cases, even though Clinton civil-rights chief Deval Patrick is already deploying the Justice Department's arsenal for identical ends.

The Left knows that the Voting Rights Act, skillfully manipulated, is a powerful engine for the redistribution of political power. But that redistribution comes at a tremendous cost to racial harmony. *Shaw* v. *Reno* was a crucial crossroads, a last chance to pull back from the precipice. How voting-rights issues are resolved will determine in large measure not only the future of race relations in America but the vitality of our nation's democracy.

Enacted in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was designed to ensure equal access to the ballot. The Justice Depart-

Mr. Bolick is litigation director at the Institute for Justice in Washington.

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ment was given broad powers to protect against unscrupulous schemes (prohibitive poll taxes; unequally administered literacy tests) resorted to by those who were determined to hold onto the levers of government. But soon the law was seized upon as a means to attain not just ballot access but the spoils of politics. The Voting Rights Act was interpreted to mandate not equal opportunity but equal outcomes, paralleling the brave new world of race consciousness in such areas as employment, education, and housing.

The transformation was directed by determined legal strategists such as Lani Guinier and Deval Patrick of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. A quarter-century of voting-rights cases has delivered us far from the original destination, to the point where federal courts adjudicate the drawing of district lines not to ensure equal access but to maximize minority political power.

In response, legislatures have steered toward the safe harbor of political bantustans, shepherding as many minority voters into safe districts as possible, regardless of the required contortions. The results were predictable: minority representation acquired a floor but also a ceiling; the quest for equal opportunity deteriorated into a contest among competing racial groups for political entitlements; and officials increasingly were elected to represent racially homogeneous districts, with no need to reach out to voters outside their core groups.

Lani Guinier's 1993 nomination as assistant attorney general attracted nationwide attention for the first time to a voting-rights agenda much broader than simply assuring ballot access for previously disfranchised minorities. Professor Guinier recognized some of the problems with the Voting Rights Act, particularly that racial gerrymandering places limits on minority representation. But her solutions were even more chilling, wielding the Voting Rights Act against the very foundations of our democratic system, or what Professor Guinier dismissed as "simple-minded notions of majority rule."

The Court's Complaint

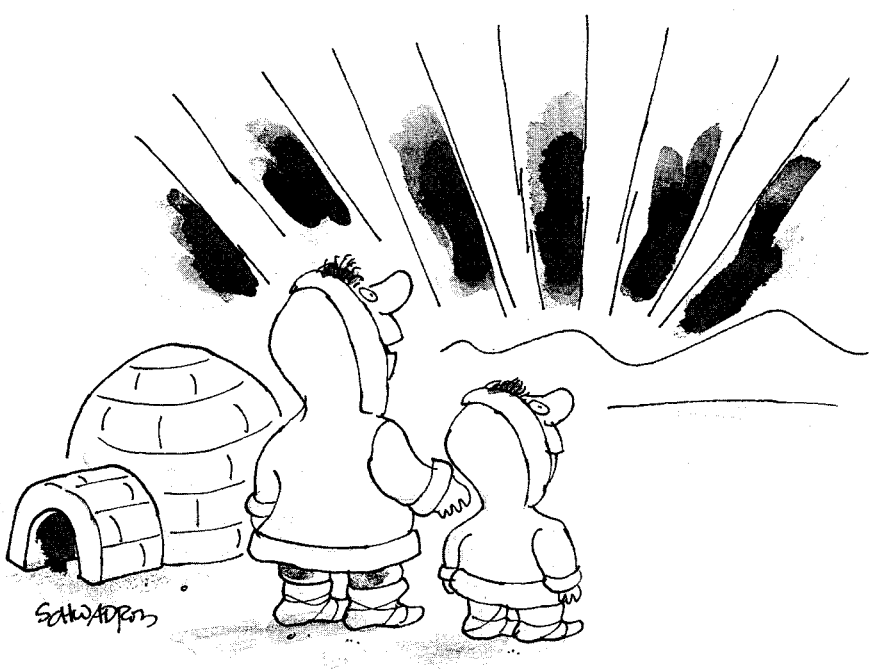
IT TOOK *Shaw* v. *Reno* to call a time-out in the march toward a racially balkanized society. The Court's 5 to 4 majority was slender, but its rhetoric was bold: regardless of what the Voting Rights Act might be construed to require, the Constitution trumps any design to construct what Justice Sandra Day O'Connor termed "political apartheid." The Court therefore remanded to the lower courts the question of whether two North Carolina congressional districts that resembled a "Rorschach inkblot test" and a "bug splattered on a windshield" were in fact the product of unconstitutional racial gerrymandering.

What the Court did not confess, however, was that these grotesque electoral apparitions were the natural consequence of its own precedents. That task would fall some months later to Justice Thomas, in an opinion that, while much less heralded than *Shaw*, may ultimately prove more important. For it exposed not only the symptoms but the underlying disease.

Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, plaintiffs can challenge any discriminatory voting "standard, practice, or procedure." In *Holder* v. *Hall*, a case decided by the Supreme Court last June, the plaintiffs contended that the governing system of Bleckley County, Georgia, which has always consisted of a single commissioner elected at large, violated Section 2. Previous Supreme Court decisions had swept within that provision's scope any political arrangements that "dilute" minority voting strength. In this case, the black plaintiffs argued that they would obtain greater representation if the single commissioner were replaced by a several-member board.

By a 5 to 4 vote, the Supreme Court rejected the claim. Since no standard "benchmark" existed for the size of county governing boards, the Court reasoned, it could not measure whether the system diluted minority voting strength. It therefore concluded that the size of an electoral district fell outside Section 2's reach.

For Justice Thomas, joined by Justice Antonin Scalia, the majority reached the right result but didn't go nearly far enough. "I can no longer adhere to a reading of the Act that does not comport with the terms of the statute and that has produced such a disastrous misadventure in judicial policy-making," Thomas declared. Instead, he urged, the Court should construe the Act to prohibit "only state enactments that limit citizens' access to the ballot." By broadly construing the phrase "standard, practice, or procedure" to encompass "dilution" of minority voting strength, Thomas wrote, "we have immersed the federal courts in a hopeless project of weighing questions of political theory." Even worse, he continued, "we have devised a remedial



"Those? Those are the 'Southern Lights.' They're caused by shopping centers in the South."

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mechanism that encourages federal courts to segregate voters into racially designated districts to ensure minority electoral success."

Thomas proceeded to draw an explicit roadmap of the "destructive assumptions" underlying Voting Rights Act cases. The Court, he argued, has "converted the Act into a device for regulating, rationing, and apportioning political power among racial and ethnic groups." Such a mandate requires courts to choose among competing political theories "to determine which electoral systems provide the 'fairest' levels of representation or the most 'effective' or 'undiluted' votes to minorities," judgments that "courts are inherently ill-equipped to make."

Thomas cited the 1969 decision *Allen v. State Board of Elections*, which set the Court on its current course. As Justice John Harlan noted in his dissent in that case, the Court's expanded inquiry forced it to choose between two outcomes: "Under one system, Negroes have some influence in the election of all officers; under the other, minority groups have more influence in the selection of fewer officers." Nudged by the civil-rights advocacy groups, the Court chose the latter outcome. Thereafter, proportional political power rather than equal access to the political process was the touchstone for voting-rights cases.

Voting by Skin Color

EVEN more alarming to Thomas than injecting the Court into political decisions is the premise, assumed by the vote-dilution cases, that "race defines political interest." As Thomas explained, "We have acted on the implicit assumption that members of racial and ethnic groups must all think alike on matters of public policy and must have their own 'minority preferred' representatives holding seats in elected bodies if they are to be considered represented at all." These assumptions, Thomas argued, "should be repugnant to any nation that strives for the ideal of a color-blind Constitution"; indeed, they are similar to the reasoning that led to registering voters by race during the days of Jim Crow.

Ultimately, Thomas concluded, the system leads to greater racial polarization. In a segregated voting system, "Neither group needs to draw on support from the other's constituency to win on election day." Moreover, the task of reapportioning political power inevitably expands. In a rueful reference to Lani Guinier, Thomas remarked, "We should not be surprised if voting rights advocates encourage us to 'revive our political imagination' . . . and to consider 'innovative and nontraditional remedies' for vote dilution."

The only solution, Thomas urged, is for the Court to abandon the enterprise of political redistribution and return to the Voting Rights Act's original purposes. "We would be mighty Platonic guardians indeed if Congress had granted us authority to determine the best form of local government for every county, city, village, and town in America," Thomas declared. "But under our constitutional system, this Court is not a centralized politburo appointed for life to dictate to the provinces. . . . We should be cautious in interpreting any Act of Congress to grant us power to make such determinations."

In calling upon the Court to overturn its precedents in the voting-rights area, Justice Thomas made a reality of his ideological critics' worst nightmares, and they reacted with predictable outrage. For he not only voted the "wrong" way in a major case but also called into question the shaky foundation upon which the regime of racial gerrymandering is built. But as Edwin M. Yoder Jr. observed, none of the critics "went beyond ad hominem comments to meet his arguments. . . . Is that because they are contemptible or because they might be hard to rebut?"

Whatever course the Supreme Court means to follow in future cases will have to be chosen fast. Already, the Court has granted review in cases from Louisiana and Georgia in which lower courts struck down racially gerrymandered congressional districts. These cases pose the stark question: Will America's future be one of permanently warring racial camps? For if our polity is formally divided along racial lines, we will have abandoned the principal mechanism—the political process—that traditionally has forced Americans of all ethnicities to deal with one another.

To date, conservatives have largely relegated themselves to the sidelines while, in the words of Justice Thomas, federal courts have been "redrawing the political landscape." Fortunately, a growing cadre of scholars, whose trails were blazed by Abigail Thernstrom at Boston University and Donald Horowitz at Duke, are urging a more faithful adherence to the Voting Rights Act's original aims. But in the legal trenches, the Right is silent.

That is unfortunate. For better or worse, in this area only the courts can deliver us to the promised land. If somehow that happens, it will be a sweet irony that the man who will have helped fulfill Thurgood Marshall's original vision of a color-blind Constitution is the man who replaced him, Clarence Thomas. □

Why America Was Right to Drop the Bomb

SHOCK TREATMENT

Horrible as the destruction at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was, a continuing war would have been far worse.

MICHAEL B. KING

IN NOVEMBER 1944, the Turkish ambassador to the United States died in Washington, D.C. Returning his remains to Turkey proved impracticable in the midst of war; not until March 1946 did the ambassador begin his journey home. But what a journey that proved to be! The end of World War II meant the U.S. could use virtually any ship among the Navy's vast array to effect the ambassador's return. Meanwhile, the Soviets had

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been pressing the Turks hard, demanding concessions over the Dardanelles and insisting on a Turkish "neutrality" that actually meant alignment with Moscow against the Western democracies. Seizing on the need to return the ambassador's remains as an opportunity to show solidarity with Ankara, U.S. officials selected the battleship *Missouri*—scene of Japan's surrender in Tokyo Bay the previous September—as the ship that would best make the point.

On March 22, the *Missouri* left New York harbor, arriving at Istanbul on April 5 (with a stop at Gibraltar, where the British governor laid a wreath). The *Missouri*'s visit was gratefully received by the Turkish government, and the Soviet failure to respond helped shore up at a key moment what would ultimately prove the victorious Free World alliance in the Cold War. But, if Japan had not surrendered in August 1945, the *Missouri* would not have been available for that task. It would most probably have been cruising off the island of Honshu in March 1946, its 16-inch guns blasting away at Japanese fortifications in the opening phase of Operation Coronet, the allied invasion of Japan's political center. As late as August 14, 1945, that is exactly what was expected to be the situation seven months thence. Only Japan's sudden surrender assured the *Missouri*'s availability for other, quieter missions.

The arguments over the Smithsonian's (now shelved) plans for the *Enola Gay* display were the opening salvo in what will be a prolonged debate over the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a debate that will cut across the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Japanese surrender, which brought World War II to a victorious close. And if the media treatment of the *Enola Gay* flap is any indication, we will probably suffer through hundreds of hours of coverage depicting the controversy as one of historians versus veterans' groups—reasoned analysis versus defensive emotionalism. As any student of World War II knows, this dichotomy is baloney; historians for the most part believe that the atomic bomb (in Harry Truman's words) "shorten[ed] the agony of war" and "saved thousands and thousands of American lives"—not to mention millions of Japanese lives. So it's tempting to brush off the latest cacophony as the product of ignorance.

That would be wrong. Granting that much of the criticism heard since August 1945 has been discreditable (e.g., anti-anti-Communists' citing the bombings to prove the "moral equivalence" of the U.S. and the USSR), the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki does not allow us to dismiss all criticism just because the motives of some critics are suspect. At Hiroshima and Nagasaki the U.S. killed tens of thousands of civilians by acts we would, at the war's outset, have declared barbarous. Since then we have all too often been satisfied to defend our actions by invoking Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent battlefield horrors such as the Bataan Death March—as if the basest mistreatment of combatants could, standing alone, justify the deliberate taking of civilian lives. Let us therefore acknowledge our duty as Americans to re-examine our country's actions of fifty years ago, and ask whether we can still say—as was overwhelmingly said at the time—that the atomic bombings were just and proper under the circumstances.

"And with her, my career began."

The Appropriate Criteria

AT THE outset, let me state what I consider the *relevant* circumstances. First, I am not going to replow the ground of the unconditional-surrender debate; while a different policy might have permitted a peace without resort to atomic bombs, that alternative isn't relevant for most bombing critics, who argue that Truman was wrong to employ the bomb but right to pursue unconditional surrender (i.e., on terms essentially the same as those offered under the Potsdam Declaration, which gave the Japanese reason to believe they could keep the emperor in some capacity but would have to leave everything else to the mercies of the victorious Allies). Second, I am not going to discuss the morality of strategic bombing, since most atomic-bombing critics accept the propriety of the conventional bombing campaign against urban Japan (although it's hard to see how one can sanction the incineration of hundreds of thousands of civilians by "conventional" means while condemning atomic bombing as inhumane). The relevant circumstances, therefore, are those faced by President Truman and his advisors in mid 1945 as they sought the unconditional surrender of Japan; the issue is whether atomic bombing to achieve that surrender was ethically responsible.

To answer this question, we need to consider three related points: 1) What means were available to compel Japan's surrender? 2) When would each of these have achieved that end, and at what cost? 3) What information was available to Truman and his advisors in mid 1945?

As for the first point, I will begin by evaluating the claim that the Allies didn't need to do anything but accept

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Japan's surrender, because Japan had already, through diplomatic channels, signaled her willingness to surrender. While there *were* signals (emanating from Japanese officials based in Switzerland), they neither offered unconditional surrender nor were authorized by Japan's cabinet. The cabinet was sharply divided between "war" and "peace" factions, and the signals out of Switzerland—ambiguous as they were—reflected the efforts of junior officials aligned with the peace faction, which included the Foreign Ministry. In other words, in midsummer 1945, Japan was not prepared to give up the fight, because its rulers could not all agree to do so. The Japanese cabinet tradition demanded consensus in order to change national policy, and the split between the war and peace factions meant a default in favor of continuing the war. Only the emperor could break this logjam, and his power to do so was strictly theoretical, as the same tradition made imperial intervention practically unthinkable.

A variant of the "they had already surrendered" claim acknowledges Japan's political paralysis but asserts that the atomic bombings were not needed to break the logjam. As we now know, it was Emperor Hirohito's transformation of the theoretical into the actual, with his intervention in favor of accepting the Potsdam surrender terms, that ended the cabinet deadlock and produced Japan's capitulation on August 14. A number of critics, including several reputable historians, believe the Soviet declaration of war against Japan on August 8 would have been sufficient to trigger Emperor Hirohito's intervention. Ergo, America should have waited until after August 8, to see if the Soviet attack would do the trick.

The evidence, however, indicates that the Soviet attack alone would not have sufficed. Certainly the attack didn't change the minds of the war faction, who clung to the idea of a final battle for the Home Islands as the only honorable, and therefore acceptable, course of action. As for the emperor, postwar interviews with leading Japanese (most notably, the Marquis Kido, Emperor Hirohito's trusted counselor) suggest that the likelihood of Soviet intervention on the Allied side was already a reluctantly accepted given, and that the emperor's decision to break the deadlock was made upon hearing the dreadful news from Hiroshima—almost 24 hours before Soviet armies poured into Manchuria. While Hirohito went to his grave without disclosing his reasons for choosing peace in August 1945, it is telling that his surrender statement singled out America's employment of a "most cruel . . . new bomb" to explain to his "good and loyal subjects" the decision to surrender.

The case for waiting also ignores the psychological problem that American decision-makers faced: how to force the capitulation of an enemy whose resistance was growing more ferocious in inverse proportion to its objective chance of avoiding defeat. Precisely this problem caused Secretary of War Henry Stimson to devise the policy of administering a closely spaced series of "shocks" to bring Japan to its collective senses. While the Soviet attack *might* have proved enough, waiting to see if it would before unleashing the bomb risked losing the effect of a series of reverses experienced in close succession. Nothing we have learned since the war's end conclusively invalidates Stimson's diagnosis; if anything, the postwar research has confirmed his view that "shock treatment" was necessary to awaken Japan from her denial of reality.

A Demonstration Drop?

CRITICS of the bombing also cite the alternative of a demonstration drop. This was rejected principally for technical reasons—fear that the bomb would "fizzle." In fact, had the Little Boy uranium bomb been employed, there would have been no technical failure; only the Fat Man plutonium design posed any real risk of an in-the-field flop. But Truman and his advisors couldn't be sure of that in mid 1945, nor could they afford to risk the virtual certainty that a fizzle would only strengthen the diehards in the Japanese leadership. Moreover, there was another problem with a demonstration drop: the risk that, even if the bomb didn't fizzle, it would fail to impress Japan's warlords. The target would presumably have been a thinly populated, heavily forested district on Honshu within a few hours of Tokyo (to assure ease of access for Japan's top brass). The resulting conflagration, however, would probably have persuaded the Japanese military only that we could now burn Japanese cities with one bomb. Since we had already burned down Japan's urban heartland, there is little reason to think her generals, admirals, *or* emperor would have seen in atomic warfare a new threat materially different from that already posed by the ongoing conventional bombing campaign.

These points (especially the technical concerns, which proved most persuasive to decision-makers in 1945) arguably evade the postwar charge of a failure of moral imagination regarding the need to preserve the psychological barrier against first use of nuclear weapons. I submit, however, that the critics' after-the-fact moral critique is flawed by a failure of *historical* imagination. They do not give sufficient weight to the need to achieve Japan's surrender as quickly as possible.

Which brings me to my second criterion for evaluating the propriety of the atomic bombings: When would any alternative have achieved a Japanese surrender, and at what cost? The critics rarely address this subject, and any discussion is invariably confined to arguing about how many casualties would have been suffered during an invasion of the Home Islands (the *Enola Gay* display debate over whether the Allies would have suffered 229,000 casualties or 63,000 is typical). Ignored is that Japanese armies still held vast chunks of territory outside of Japan (in China, Southeast Asia, and the Indonesian archipelago), and that these forces—already cut off from the Home Islands—were prepared to resist to the end. Thus, as planning for the invasion of the Home Islands proceeded, so did planning for several other operations, including an Anglo-Indian assault on Thailand (from Burma); a British–Australian return to Malaya (aiming to recapture Singapore); a series of British-led assaults on key points throughout the Indonesian archipelago (then the Netherlands East Indies); American–Chinese operations against Japanese forces in southeastern and south-central China (e.g., the recapture of Nanking); and continued pounding of isolated Japanese forces left behind during the "leapfrog" island campaigns through the south and central Pacific (e.g., the tens of thousands of Japanese cut off at Rabaul).

If the war had not ended on August 14, these plans would have been put into effect, starting with the British re-

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turn to Malaya on September 9 by amphibious landings that would have equaled the size and scope of the invasion of Normandy. Nor would the Allies have been the only ones forging ahead. In our world, Japan's surrender on August 14 gave America the chance to rush troops to southern Korea; in a world where the war continued, Soviet armies would have annihilated the last Japanese near Pusan before the end of September. In our world, Japan's post-atomic collapse allowed us to ferry Chiang Kai-shek's troops to key points all along China's coast with no resistance from defeated Japanese forces; without a Japanese surrender in August, the Nationalist armies (with significant American support) would have had to fight their way up the coast, and Mao Tse-tung would have been in Peking by October (proclaiming, as Marshal Zhukov and Kim Il Sung looked on, the second "People's Republic" to be established in East Asia within a fortnight).

Only after the bloodshed entailed in all these efforts would we have come to the invasion of the Home Islands, to be kicked off on November 1 in Operation Olympic (the seizure of southern Kyushu, to be prepared as a giant staging area for Operation Coronet the following March). As it happens, Olympic would not have gone off on November 1 as planned because of a massive typhoon that blasted through the Ryukyus in October and that would undoubtedly have caused thousands of casualties and disrupted the invasion fleet gathering at Okinawa and elsewhere. However, "X Day" would probably have been delayed only a few weeks, as American and British engineers, working around the clock, would have managed another of those wartime logistical miracles. Once the invasion got under way, there is no doubt the Allies would eventually have carried the day. There is also no doubt that this success would have been purchased at a fearful price, much higher than the lower estimates. (The lower figure in the *Enola Gay* display debate is apparently based on estimates worked up in mid 1945, which did not account for Japanese plans to shift kamikaze targeting from warships to troop transports.)

The human consequences of continued war in East Asia would have been appalling. Hundreds of thousands of members of the Japanese imperial administrative apparatus would have perished (in our world, they were repatriated). Hundreds of thousands of Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees would have died (orders had been issued for the massacre of Allied POWs throughout Southeast Asia, and both POWs and civilian internees were on the verge of starvation when the war ended). Hundreds of thousands of American, British, Australian, Dutch, French, Chinese, Soviet, and Japanese forces would have died in battles raging from the Indonesian archipelago to Japan (for the Americans, British, and Soviets, the dead would have included tens of thousands recently transferred from Europe).

Civilian Deaths

CAUGHT in the crossfire would have been tens of millions of civilians, as the accumulating pressures of years of war would have caused a breakdown in basic fuel and food systems. Famines like the one that struck Tonkin in 1945–46 would have been the likely fate of most of East Asia; the desperately needed diversion of resources and energies to civilian needs would not have happened. Millions of Japanese would have died, especially children and the elderly. Even had we opted for a "no invasion, no nukes" alternative, the continuing blockade and bombing campaigns would have meant virtually the same number of Japanese civilian deaths in what would have been the Great Famine Winter of 1945–46, dwarfing the misery suffered by the populations of the Central Powers of World War I during the Armistice Blockade between November 1918 and June 1919.

Continuing war in East Asia would also have complicated European reconstruction efforts and exacerbated the problem of Soviet aggressiveness. On the Left, Henry Wallace and like-minded anti-anti-Communists would undoubtedly have opposed any measures that might have strained a continued Grand Alliance against the surviving Axis power. On the Right, Robert Taft and fellow isolationists, watching as a Chinese civil war emerged from the piecemeal defeat of Japanese forces—with Communists and Nationalists clashing along lines established by the depth of Red Army penetrations—undoubtedly would have preferred that America put its resources into the fight for a "Free China" rather than waste any effort on further European "distractions." Casting about for a solution, Western leaders might have considered easing peace terms, but that would have been blocked by Soviet insistence on "unconditional surrender"; Stalin's interests would have been served by perpetuating the war in East Asia until he had extracted the maximum benefit (including exploiting his continuing position as an ally to inhibit Anglo-American actions at the other end of Eurasia).

In short, January 1946 would have looked a lot like August 1945: East Asia is torn by war; military casualties mount; civilian suffering escalates; Japan is objectively defeated but fights on. Perhaps the crisis of the occupation of southern Kyushu would have triggered an imperial intervention, as happened in our world in August 1945. But it also is possible that the emperor

(Continues on page 72)

"I wish you could stick around, but I know you must be going and going and . . ."

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1995

Dear Rusty,

People criticize this administration for being "too Hollywood," so I hesitate to bring this up, but what the heck—I just met Barney, the purple dinosaur!

Do you get "Barney" in Brazil? It's on PBS, and Barney is a big purple dinosaur who teaches children all about the power of imagination, counting, household safety, and multicultural awareness. He's really popular. I read in "Forbes" that his yearly profits are something like $1 billion!

Anyway, I met him during a speech I gave to support funding for Public Broadcasting—can you believe that the Republicans want to privatize PBS? That means no "Barney," no "Sesame Street"—none of the programs that teach children about the power of imagination, counting, household safety, and multicultural awareness. I mean, kids love that purple dinosaur—they all want the Barney lunch box, Barney stuffed animal, Barney coloring box, Barney videos, Barney books, Barney kids' computer. I mean, if that's not an argument for government funding, then I should just move back to Tennessee and start working on the compost.

After the speech, I had a session with some PBS heavy-hitters. (But not Barney—OSHA regulations prohibit more than 2 continuous hours with a Barney costume covering the face.) Mark Russell started by singing, "You're a mean one, Mr. Newt, / You want to axe our shows. / You're a budget-cutting fascist, / You want kids to play with matches, / Mr. Newt!" to the tune of (I think) "You're a mean one, Mr. Grinch" from the Dr. Seuss cartoon "How the Grinch Stole Christmas."

By the time he got to his second verse, most of us had had enough. "Thanks very much, Mark, really," Jim Lehrer said. "But I think we've—"

"Don't you get it?" Mark asked. "He's not Newt Gingrich, he's Newt GinGRINCH! Do you see the pun? Get it? You don't think that's funny?"

The "Frontline" people raised their fists, and one of them began reading from a prepared text: "This is People's Communique Number One, from the Committee to Produce and Spend, 'Frontline Cadre.' We will not allow ourselves to be unfunded by the bourgeois fascist pigs in the so-called Congress of the so-called United States of Amerikkka. If need be we will raise funds from the oppressed peoples now occupying public housing."

"Who would those be?" Robin MacNeil asked. "Inner-city minorities?"

The "Frontline" woman shook her head. "No. Political Science students at public universities."

"Oh," MacNeil said, returning to his sandwich.

"I'd like to say one thing, if I could," said Nina Totenberg. "I think—and I'm directing this mostly to you, Mr. Vice President—that we at PBS and NPR have an image problem. We give the appearance —and this is merely an appearance, not the reality— of a left-wing bias. Perhaps we should attempt to be slightly more balanced, if we're serious about regaining the public's goodwill."

The "Frontline" people went limp in protest. They all kind of flopped on the floor or in their plates.

Mark Russell sang, to the tune of "Mona Lisa": "Nina Totie, / You've got my votie, / I do love ya. / I know you tried to get the black guy off the court. / Nina Totie, / A bit showboatie, / But who's complaining?/ You're the very best of a liberal lefty sort."

Nina Totenberg stared hard at Russell. "Is that song about me?" she asked.

"Yes it is," Russell answered proudly.

"You'll be hearing from my lawyer," she said coldly. The room got very quiet.

"Good night, Robin," Jim Lehrer said.

"Good night, Jim," Robin MacNeil said.

They left.

I started out myself, and Nina Totenberg followed.

"You know, Nina," I said, "I really think you're on to something with your comments."

"You do? I call it 'The New Moderation.'"

"Good name."

We started walking down the hall, past the "Barney" souvenir booth, past the "Sesame Street" Ancillary Products Pavilion, past the "This Old House" VISA card sign-up desk.

"What are you working on now?" I asked.

"A documentary for PBS," she said. "Called: 'George Bush—the War Crime Years.'"

"Yikes," I said. "Don't you think the Gulf War may be too politically charged for the 'New Moderation'?"

"Oh, but it's not about the Gulf War, Mr. Vice President. It's about World War II."

"George Bush was a war criminal during World War II?"

"We dropped the bomb, didn't we?" And she sauntered off.

I don't know, Rusty. Sometimes, late at night, I think maybe we need a Grinch or two around.

Your pal, Al

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The Secret Zora Neale Hurston

STEVE SAILER

INTELLECTUAL discourse centers increasingly on Big Books, massive tomes such as *The Bell Curve*, which, while unfinishable, serve as pretexts for journalistic ruminations. Nobody unleashes bigger books than the Library of America, "the only definitive collection of America's greatest writers." Although fastidious in whom it honors, the Library is promiscuous in what it reprints. Its pedantic refusal to excerpt lends its publications an air of Gallic pomposity, as exemplified by this 2,078-page outpouring, grandiose enough for Racine, but a comically ponderous salute to an effervescent American original, Zora Neale Hurston.

Miss Hurston's induction into this quasi-official pantheon does offer a timely occasion to look back on the first black American woman writer of note. To traditionalists who haven't read her, Miss Hurston's emergence as a mainstay of trendy college reading lists epitomizes the decline of academic standards. To multiculturalists, her 1937 novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, has become "perhaps the most widely known and privileged text in the African-American literary canon," according to Black Studies professor Mary Helen Washington. Alice Walker claims, "There is no book more important to me." And Oprah Winfrey is filming it.

Zora Neale Hurston: Novels and Stories (Library of America, 1,054 pp., $35)

Zora Neale Hurston: Folklore, Memoirs, and Other Writings (Library of America, 1,024 pp., $35)

Nobody, however, seems very interested in Miss Hurston's own ideas. Although the reading public would have been better served by a seven-hundred-page "best of" collection, these portly volumes do at least copiously document Miss Hurston's unfashionable world view. Seldom has any author been so uniformly misread as Miss Hurston has by her self-proclaimed (and self-absorbed) heirs. Stereotyping her by skin color and sex, the diversicrats ignore much of the inner Zora Neale Hurston, a disciple of the greatest dead white European male authors, a connoisseur of macho braggadocio, and a shamelessly conservative Republican who scorned victimism and leftist conformism.

What produced such a woman? Zora's father combined carpentry and preaching with the less Christ-like calling of mayor of America's first self-governing black town. The singular status of Eatonville, Florida, sheltered young Zora from the worst of Jim Crow, giving her an almost unique foretaste of our post-civil-rights-movement world. After leaving Eatonville, Miss Hurston scraped by as a maid and waitress, educating herself (once she found a copy of *Paradise Lost* in a rubbish pile). Finally, her ebullience and wit attracted patrons who helped her become in 1925 the first black student at Barnard. She soon became known as the most irreverent personality of the Harlem Renaissance.

Studying anthropology under Franz Boas, she collected black folklore in Florida logging camps and New Orleans hoodoo dens. An aged ex-slave told her how the King of Dahomey had conquered his West African village, then peddled him to white slavers. Miss Hurston reflected, "My people had *sold* me . . . It impressed upon me the universal nature of greed and glory. Lack of power and opportunity passes off too often for virtue."

Miss Hurston reworked her mountain of sermons, songs, and "lies" (tall tales) into beguiling folklore, fiction, and memoirs, imbued with her love for both the oral inventions of poor black folk and the "canonical" masterpieces from Chaucer to Kipling. She maintained that Southern black speech fused two exuberantly innovative traditions: the West African and the Elizabethan.

Her hopes for literary prestige, however, were undermined by the leading black male intellectuals. Their disdain for her stemmed less from their chauvinism than from their socialism. Unlike her Communist rival Richard Wright (whose best-selling *Native Son* made him the leader of what she tartly termed the "sobbing school of Negrohood"), she refused to view blacks primarily as victims.

While trying to escape an unworkable love affair with a domineering younger man, Miss Hurston wrote *Their Eyes* in seven weeks. Today, a vast academic literature struggles to reconcile this rushed but irresistible love story with feminist literary doctrine, explicating it as a "text" about the evolving selfhood of an autonomous, intelligent woman achieving her own voice, etc. Yet, as Yale's independent-minded Harold Bloom notes, "Hurston herself was refreshingly free of all the ideologies that currently obscure the reception of her best book. Her sense of power has nothing in common with . . . contemporary feminism," as the plot makes clear.

We find lovely, light-skinned Janie, 16, dreamily lounging beneath a flowering pear tree. "She saw a dust-bearing bee sink into the sanctum of a bloom; the thousand sister-calyxes arch to meet the love embrace and the ecstatic shiver of the tree from root to

Mr. Sailer is a Chicago businessman and writer.

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tiniest branch creaming in every blossom and frothing with delight. So this was a marriage!" But an arranged match with an unsexy farmer fails to bloom, so Janie runs off with the dynamic entrepreneur Joe Starks to Eatonville. Joe single-handedly turns it into a successful all-black community.

Their marriage wilts as Joe becomes materialistic and stuffy. Yet Miss Hurston also portrays Joe as heroic in his ambitiousness, and Janie as unable to cope with the intellectual demands of tending a shop. Eventually love dies, then so does Joe. Janie, now 38, is left the wealthiest and comeliest widow of color in central Florida.

Suddenly the story veers back from mildly feminist to wildly feminine, as Janie finally discovers true love in the arms of her third husband: Vergible "Tea Cake" Woods, a roustabout, gambler, and knife-fighter. Much to Janie's satisfaction, Tea Cake demonstrates his consuming love by occasionally ravishing her ("he hurled her to the floor and held her there melting her resistance with the heat of his body") or beating her:

> It aroused a sort of envy in both men and women. The way [Tea Cake] petted and pampered [Janie] as if those two or three face slaps had nearly killed her made the women see visions and the helpless way she hung on him made men dream dreams.
>
> "Tea Cake, you sho is a lucky man," Sop-de-Bottom told him. "Uh person can see every place you hit her . . . Take some uh dese ol' rusty black women and dey would fight yuh all night long and next day nobody couldn't tell you ever hit 'em. Dat's de reason Ah done quit beatin' mah woman. You can't make no mark on 'em at all. Lawd! Wouldn't Ah love tuh whip uh tender woman lak Janie!"

This is at heart a lush romance novel, complete with bodice-ripper highlights, so it's unsettling that feminist academics bask in it. Janie doesn't "grow in personhood," but rather fulfills the romantic destiny she envisioned under the pear tree by marrying her menacing but smitten Tea Cake.

As delightful as this fantasy often is, Miss Hurston could have written a more insightful book by sticking closer to her own life and examining the age-old predicament of a strong-minded woman drawn to masterful men. I suspect that female academics persistently misinterpret *Their Eyes* by projecting its author's spunk and eloquence onto Janie's wealth, unaging beauty, and heart-throb hunk of a husband. Now, *there's* a heroine any woman would enjoy identifying with! (Miss Hurston's other novels are less popular, in part because their protagonists are male and/or white.) In truth, Janie isn't half the woman her creator was.

Miss Hurston, in fact, seems intermittently bored with her relatively inarticulate heroine, digressing frequently to the men trash-talking on Janie's store porch. With its unlikely swings from perfect-pitch Southern black feminine vernacular, to gushing romance, and on to testosterone-fueled insult contests, *Their Eyes* as a reading experience resembles channel-surfing among *The Color Purple*, *Jane Eyre*, and *White Men Can't Jump*. Miss Hurston's obvious pride in the prodigious oral creativity of black male bravado illustrates a fundamental contradiction between multiculturalism's two main strands: feminism and the celebration of African-American culture. Inconveniently for feminists, the single greatest theme of twentieth-century black art has been: *I am a man*. In reaction to the strenuous efforts of whites to make black men into unthreatening boys, black men have forged a collective masculine persona of stunning charisma that increasingly dominates global pop culture. As an early impresario of African-American culture, Miss Hurston could hardly afford feminism's peeved response to swaggering masculinity.

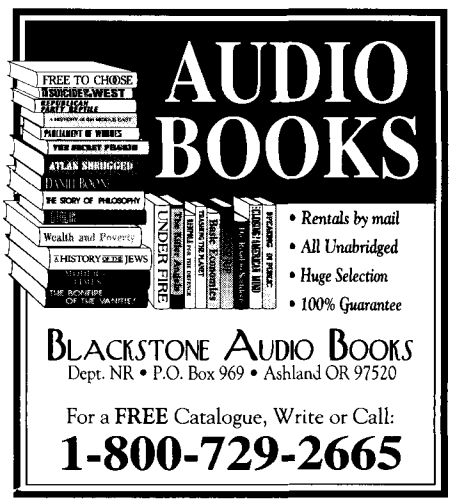
Feminists looking for a role model might be expected to turn from Janie to Miss Hurston's most memorable character, vividly displayed in her zestful yet trenchant autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942). In fact, feminists are embarrassed by the book. Poet Maya Angelou finds it "puzzling," since Miss Hurston doesn't linger enough on all the sexism and racism she overcame. Alice Walker is disconcerted by its "weird politics," which grew from Miss Hurston's hardheaded view of human nature: "It is foolish to expect any justice untwisted by the selfish hand. Look into the Book of Books . . . The Lord wanted [the Hebrew slaves escaping Egypt] to have a country full of big grapes and tall corn. Incidentally, while they were getting it, they might as well get rid of some trashy tribes that he never did think much of, anyway." She had little use for the politics of race: "All clumps of people turn out to be individuals on close inspection," and "The Race Leader is a fiction that is good only at the political trough."

Did Miss Hurston eschew racial militance out of greed? Well, Richard Wright made far more money by smiting the white man hip and thigh. Or was she naïve? It is widely assumed that black militants are more disillusioned with whites than are conservatives like Miss Hurston or Thomas Sowell. In truth, the confrontationists show a touching faith in the patience of the white majority. Having studied the universality of group antagonisms, black conservatives lack all confidence in the kindliness of white people.

Nor do Miss Hurston's other works support current dogmas. In this time of Afrocentric assertions about black pharaohs, her *Moses, Man of the Mountain*, an idiosyncratic retelling of Exodus, reminds us that black Americans have long been fascinated by tales of Egypt. Before Afrocentrism, though, blacks identified with Egypt's slaves, not its slaveowners.

After World War II, Miss Hurston's conservatism became even more outspoken. She campaigned for Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s Republican opponent, published "Why the Negro Won't Buy Communism" in *American Legion* magazine, and endorsed Robert Taft in 1952. Most controversially, she denounced as demeaning to blacks the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision that separate always meant unequal. While questionable in 1954, this proved a prescient critique of the 1970s busing rulings which implied that the White Child's Burden was to civilize his dusky classmates.

Largely estranged from the black establishment, Miss Hurston watched



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her finances deteriorate until her death back home in Florida in 1960, alone and broke, but still proud. Upon hearing the news of her impending pauper's burial, old friends rallied around to send her off with the kind of rousing funeral she had always reveled in growing up in Eatonville. □

The Prophet of Resentment

DAVID FRUM

Arrogant Capital, by Kevin Phillips (Little, Brown, 231 pp., $22.95)

WHAT IS one to make of Kevin Phillips? The man who is widely regarded as the greatest living expert on American electoral politics is a mixture of political insight and economic preposterousness; deep historical knowledge and glib soundbites; respect for American traditions and hostility to American institutions. At moments, he writes with the authority of the sage; pages later, he is touting nonsense with the unscrupulousness of an infomercial charlatan.

Phillips's latest book exhibits rather more of his flaws than his abilities. *Arrogant Capital* is the third in a series of books about what Phillips calls "the Reagan aftermath"—following *The Politics of Rich and Poor* (1990) and *Boiling Point* (1993)—and is decidedly the slightest of the three. Evidently it was written in considerable haste, in a frantic attempt to call back the big bet Phillips placed on Bill Clinton in the 1993 book, where he wrote:

> The 1992 results could be interpreted as a Democratic watershed. . . . A new set of domestic and cultural issues were emerging for the 1990s: health care, education, urban problems, the environment, economic fairness, abortion, and what could be called a "women's" array of concerns, including day care, parental leave, equal pay, the feminization of poverty, the glass ceiling in employment, women's political empowerment, and sexual harassment. Issues like these favored the Democrats, affirming that electoral watersheds usually overlap with new domestic-policy agendas.

Arrogant Capital begins by attempting to explain away that embarrassing misreading of the 1992 results. Now Phillips insists that while he did predict "that the post-1968 GOP era would soon end in a populist reaction against both the increasingly unresponsive Washington elite and the economic redistribution of the 1980s in favor of the nation's rich," he did not "try to spell out [the reaction's] form or depth of success." This eager attempt to catch the voters' mood on the rebound has, however, proved no more successful than Phillips's previous exercise in soothsaying: having hailed the ascendancy of the Democrats in his 1993 book, Phillips reversed himself and announced the imminent demise of *both* parties in the present book—just before the Republican congressional landslide.

Forecasting errors are a serious matter for Phillips. More than most political writers, he has advertised himself as a seer. The blurbs selected for the back cover of *Arrogant Capital* all pay tribute to the uncanny accuracy of Phillips's past prognostications. In fact, his reputation for wizardry rests on his 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*. Since then, the prophetic gift has largely deserted him.

On the other hand, what remains is in many ways more interesting. Phillips does not need to be a prophet to command attention. He is the unsurpassed master of the historical details of American electoral politics. Who but Phillips could casually drop the fact that no county within forty miles of Washington, D.C., produced any significant vote for Abraham Lincoln in 1860? And Phillips has mastered something even more important still: he has made himself the explicator of—and apologist for—the darkest emotions of the American voter.

Phillips does not affect to regard the middle-class voter as a person of generous instincts. Phillips has always based his analysis on the premise that Americans vote their resentments. Back in the 1960s, he believed that the majority of Americans resented blacks, students, bureaucrats, and liberal judges; today he claims they resent Wall Street speculators, corporate chieftains, and Washington lobbyists. Always, though, he has maintained that the voters are seething with rage and envy, and that big rewards can be grasped by politicians who can take advantage of those emotions. The political uses of resentment—that's what Phillips taught Nixon in the 1960s, and it's what he has sought to teach Democrats and independent political entrepreneurs such as Ross Perot in the 1990s.

"Hardly anyone doubts how angry the public is at 1990s Washington," he observes on the very first page of *Arrogant Capital*. Citing a survey by Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, Phillips notes that at the end of Clinton's first year in office, 57 per cent of Americans believed that "lobbyists and special interests" controlled Washington—up from 38 per cent just two and a half years before.

One plausible explanation for this startling uptick in American cynicism —that the Clinton Administration actually *was* under the control of lobbyists and special interests in a way that the recent Republican Administrations were not—would be scorned by Phillips. He long ago ceased to regard the education lobby, big-city mayors, trade unions, feminists, civil-rights organizations, and retirees as "special interests." Instead, Phillips thinks, the public is angry because the President they elected in a spasm of populist outrage has failed them. Despite Bill Clinton, Phillips maintains, a powerful and entrenched financial elite continues to exploit America's antiquated constitutional machinery to enrich itself and the foreign economic competitors with which it is allied, while impoverishing the middle class.

As always when he comments on economic matters, Phillips's penetrating mind is gummed by nineteenth-century ideological dust. Like some long-buried Pasionaria of the Free Unlimited Coinage of Silver, Phillips contrasts the evils of international *Finanzkapital* with the craggy virtues of agriculture and manufacturing. The simplest and least conspiratorial explanation of the growing power of fi-

Mr. Frum is the author of Dead Right *(Basic).*

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nancial markets—which is that the out-of-control welfare states of the 1990s are borrowing far more money than the relatively well-managed economies of the 1960s—does not even rate a mention from him.

But then, Phillips isn't much interested in explaining things. He inveighs against the litigation explosion and the growing number of lawyers. However, when he tries to articulate a reason for this deplorable phenomenon, he stammers: "There are simply too many attorneys, which forces them to keep generating legislative, regulatory, and litigational subject matter and opportunity." Too many lawyers, in other words, produce too many laws. Serious-minded critics of the legal profession—such as, curiously, the dean of Harvard Law School, Robert Clark—have offered evidence that the causation runs exactly the other way. A society that insists on emitting enormous numbers of laws and regulations will quickly enough find itself employing enormous numbers of experts to help citizens cope with those laws and regulations. The litigation explosion of the 1980s was merely an aftershock of the regulatory explosion of the 1970s.

The same indifference to serious explanations is manifested in Phillips's account of the multiplication of bureaucrats and quasi-bureaucrats in Washington. He rattles off the numbers with appropriate alarm: 11,000 congressional staffers in 1970 versus 20,000 in 1990; 19 per cent of professional associations located in Washington in 1971 versus 32 per cent in 1990; 21,000 members of the District of Columbia bar in 1975 versus 61,000 in 1993; 1,500 journalists working in the capital in 1950 versus 12,000 today. But unlike other writers who have pondered these numbers—notably Jonathan Rauch in *Demosclerosis: The Silent Killer of American Government*—Phillips does not ask himself *what* all these people are doing and *why* non-Washingtonians are paying them to do it. He seems to regard this cancerous multiplication as an almost completely autochthonous phenomenon: "a bipartisan awareness, involving perhaps a hundred thousand people, that the city on the Potomac had become a golden honeypot for the politically involved."

But of course, Washington has become such a honeypot precisely because its Presidents and legislators have for thirty years followed the course that Phillips broadly favors—writing ever more complicated tax laws, regulating markets ever more closely, penalizing foreign exporters ever more heavily. When the political authorities in effect tell businesses "Get a lobbyist or we might destroy you," it's hardly surprising that businesses suddenly start employing people to take congressional staffers to lunch. The growth of Washington's professional population is a direct consequence of the growth of the Federal Government's appetite for power. Nobody who, like Phillips, favors further arrogations of power by that government has standing to complain about the size of the bureaucracy needed to exercise it—or about the number of supplicants who flock to Washington to beg that this power be exercised in ways that help them and hobble their competitors.

Nowhere is the disjunction between cause and effect sharper—or more useful to Phillips—than in the long discussion of stagnant middle-class incomes that runs through all three of the books he has published in the past five

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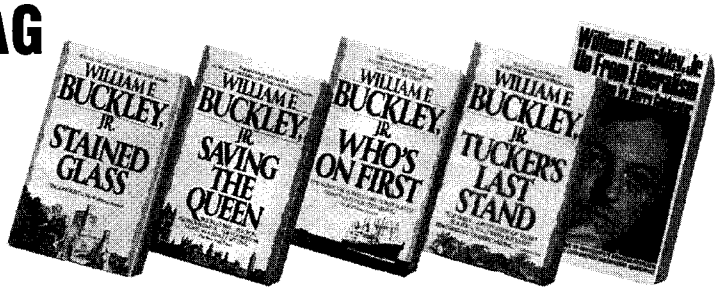

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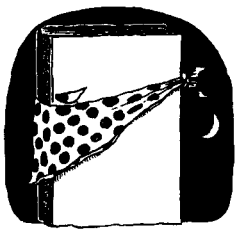
years. Thus, in *The Politics of Rich and Poor* he amassed data showing (accurately) that the number of rich and very rich people increased sharply in the 1980s. In *Boiling Point*, he amassed more data purporting to show that the standard of living of middle-class Americans had stagnated. But Phillips offered scant evidence that these two sets of facts had anything to do with each other.

And it would be surprising if they did. After all, in the past—in the boom years from 1896 to 1917, for example, or in the 1920s—increases in the number and and wealth of the best-off Americans have coincided with rising living standards for the middle class. Periods in which the number and wealth of the rich shrink—such as the 1930s—have coincided with stagnating or falling middle-class living standards. In good times, all prosper, if unequally; in bad times, all suffer, if again unequally.



For many Americans, this old rule of thumb continued to work in the 1980s. Phillips complained in *Boiling Point* that the "middle class" shrank by between 5 and 10 percentage points in the 1980s. Conceivably, that's true. But far more people were moving *upward* out of the middle class than downward. Of America's 66 million families, 17 million enjoyed incomes of $50,000 or more (in 1991 dollars) in 1980, and 22.3 million enjoyed such incomes in 1990. (The new prosperity coursed with special vitality through black America: only 810,000 black families brought in more than $50,000 in 1980; 1.3 million had crossed the threshold of comfort in 1990.)

On the other hand, it's also true that many Americans were moving downward, and that the income of the average household—a category that includes individuals living alone—has been stagnating at about $30,000 (in 1990 dollars) since 1969.

What's going on? A hundred and one things, but perhaps the most important of them is this: the collapse of the American family as a social unit. In 1980, 61 per cent of American households were families headed by a married couple. In 1992, only 55 per cent were—an amazing shift. By grim contrast, the number of households in which a once-married woman lived without a husband jumped by 34 per cent in the 12 years from 1980 to 1992.

The economic implications of these changes are huge. In 1991, 38 per cent of all families headed by a married couple enjoyed incomes over $50,000. Fewer than 8 per cent of husbandless women earned so much. If you flip that number over, its implications are even more startling: of those households earning incomes of $50,000 or more, 81 per cent were headed by a married couple.

Family incomes grew rapidly between 1945 and 1973 largely because families themselves were so stable. Divorce rates were low, illegitimacy was rare, and most families sent only one wage-earner into the workforce. (A recent survey of corporate executives found evidence that men who are the sole support of their families work harder than men whose wives also work. Perhaps it's the weight of responsibility, or perhaps when the wife is at home the husband can concentrate his energies more fully on the job.) Under those conditions, every extra dollar paid to a full-time worker translated into a higher income for his wife and children.

In an era of extreme family instability, however, economic growth does not suffice to enrich families. Dividing one income between two post-divorce households has, among other consequences, a depressing effect on national income statistics. And that's assuming the father can be induced to pay child support. If a divorced father refuses, his former wife and their children form a new, probably very low-wage, household that depresses the national statistics even more deeply—as do the households of the millions of women whose boyfriends fathered children on them and then abandoned them to a weary life of welfare or minimum-wage labor.

None of this excites Phillips much. His attention is concentrated on the powerful potential of the fact that many have suffered economically while a few have prospered enormously. That disparity, in the hands of a clever pol, yields a resentment that might be profitably galvanized, and wherever you detect resentment, you find Kevin Phillips ahead of you.

Recognizing the truth that it's Big Government that spawns lobbyists, and that it's social breakdown that produces the dreary economic numbers against which Phillips rages, makes nonsense of the ten-point reform package with which he ends *Arrogant Capital*. He recommends, for example, moving federal agencies out of Washington. "The Interior Department could be moved to Denver or Salt Lake City, Agriculture to Des Moines or Kansas City, Housing and Urban Development to Philadelphia or Chicago. Uprooted lobbies would mean broken lines of influence." On the contrary—moving agencies to smaller centers where they would quickly rank among the largest local employers and where they could go about their business far from the scrutiny of Congress and the national press would guarantee capture by special-interest groups and doom forever any hope of shrinking the agencies' payrolls.

In the same heedless spirit, Phillips repeats University of Texas professor Steve Magee's suggestion that the number of people admitted to law schools each year should be shrunk in order to cap the lawyer explosion. But of course, capping the number of lawyers without simultaneously choking the flow of laws and regulations would simply foster artificial scarcities in the profession and inflate the incomes of those lawyers now in practice.

As for Phillips's recommendations that the country attempt to raise the incomes of the middle class through protectionism and tax increases on corporations and high-income earners—all one can say is that it has been tried before, and with dismal results.

To engage with these ideas, however, is to fundamentally misunderstand them. Kevin Phillips is no more interested in the question of whether higher taxes will spark the economy than the designers of the 1948 Cadillac were interested in whether tail fins would in fact stabilize their car at high speeds. What Phillips cares about is devising formulas that can be put to effective use by canny political operators. Despite the 1994 congressional results, his distinctive blend of nationalism and class resentment may yet prove to be just such a formula. And those of us who admire Phillips's talents—while deploring the uses to which he has devoted them—had better remain prepared to explain to an electorate enraged and frightened by the economic costs of social breakdown exactly why he's wrong. □

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What Made Them Moral?

CHRISTIE DAVIES

GERTRUDE Himmelfarb has given us an excellent, detailed, and insightful account of the creation, maintenance, and (in our time) decline of the Victorian virtues of work, thrift, self-reliance, self-respect, neighborliness, and patriotism. These virtues defined the character and ethos of the Victorian age in Britain and, with certain variants, in America and were upheld or at least aspired to by members of all social classes. Indeed, one of Professor Himmelfarb's key points is that these virtues were indigenous not only to the middle classes but also to large sections of those at the very bottom of the social order, who realized that the mundane virtues of respectability—such as sobriety, prudence, and frugality—did not require status or lineage or wealth or wisdom but were available to all. Even the humblest could come to see themselves, and come to be seen by others, as free moral agents capable of self-control.

Professor Himmelfarb rightly acknowledges the religious origins and underpinnings of Victorian virtue. Where I am inclined to disagree is over her argument that Victorian morality survived a period of secularization in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as earnest agnostics strove even harder to be moral after the age of faith had departed. This may well have been true of dutiful Victorian intellectuals such as Darwin, Stephen, and George Eliot, whose lives and works Professor Himmelfarb has studied in great detail, but was it really true of the ordinary people of provincial England, Scotland with its competing Calvinisms, or widely revivalist Wales? My criticism is not of the logic of Professor Himmelfarb's argument, but merely about the timing; secularization set in rather later in Britain than her model suggests.

One of the most important sections of Professor Himmelfarb's book is her rehabilitation of the image of the Victorian family and particularly the Victorian working-class family. It is clear from a variety of sources, including oral history, that the women who ran, and the children who grew up in, such families did not feel that their lives had been overdisciplined or that they had been overworked or treated with repressive cruelty. Indeed in later life most of them remembered their homes and families as having provided a natural, right, and in general happy way of life. Marriage was a lifelong working partnership with clearly defined roles for husband and wife and clear standards as to what a good husband and a good wife were like. We have here a demolition of the feminist myth of an oppressive patriarchal past; ironically, but reassuringly, Professor Himmelfarb has garnered much of the evidence disproving the feminist view from empirical material gathered by scholars of a feminist persuasion. It is good to see that some feminists have the integrity to put regard for the truth ahead of political correctness.

What is also very striking is the great stability of the working-class family at a time of very rapid social and economic change—in marked contrast to the chaotic living arrangements of today's squalid underclass. Indeed, in the East End of London, a poor area with an unstable labor market and endemic unemployment and poverty, the illegitimacy rate was only 4.5 per cent in the middle of the nineteenth century and 3 per cent by the end of the century; both figures were below the national average, which had peaked at 7 per cent in 1845 and fallen to 4 per cent by 1900. Today, by contrast, about a third of all British births are illegitimate.

We can see here part of a phenomenon I have called the U-curve of deviance, that strange fall and then rise in crime (both violent and nonviolent), illegitimacy, and drug and alcohol abuse that have taken place over the last century and a half. Victorian reform reduced all of these types of deviant activity to very low levels. These low levels were then enjoyed by the British

Mr. Davies is a professor of sociology at the University of Reading.

The De-moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values, by Gertrude Himmelfarb (Knopf, 314 pp., $24)

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and Americans for the first half of the twentieth century, until a massive rise in all of them during the last forty years. Professor Himmelfarb suggests in her book that the name of my model should be changed to the J-curve, since the rise in deviance and crime has taken Britain and America to a point of moral disorder far in excess of anything to be found in the nineteenth century. She may well be right; it looked more like a U-curve when I dubbed it that at the end of the 1970s than it does today after another 15 years of moral degeneration.

Gertrude Himmelfarb's latest study of the Victorians is, like all her work in this field, a delight to read—clear, erudite, sensible, logical, and creative. In addition to providing a convincing picture of a successful and virtuous society, her work throws new and interesting light on particular issues, such as the distinctive character of and divisions within Victorian feminism and the position of Jews, whose virtues led to their being regarded as suspect by the early socialist ideologists and organizers. There are also marvelous insights into the foibles, and more than foibles, of many early, mid, and late Victorians, including John Stuart Mill, H. G. Wells, and the rascally "Dr." Edward Aveling, who abused Karl Marx's daughter in true Marxist fashion. Professor Himmelfarb's is also a moral text, for it not only dissects and praises the morality of Victorian Britain, but also shows in great statistical detail how far present-day Britain and America fall short of the Victorian ideal. It points the way to a possible renewal of society to cure our current demoralization. □

A Cool View of the Cold War

JOHN LEHMAN

MACHIAVELLI said that only great leaders dare to have strong advisors. By this definition Henry Kissinger was a great leader indeed. In his eight years as National Security Advisor and Secretary of State he gathered and attracted strong personalities to his entourage. Unlike many other potentates, he liked to have people around who would disagree with him, as long as they were loyal, and especially if they stayed in the background. One of the strongest, most loyal, and most self-effacing was Peter Rodman, who remained in the innermost circle throughout Kissinger's tenure. His strength was intellectual, his loyalty total, and in contrast to those colleagues of his who shoved many an ambassador into the shrubbery to stand next to Kissinger in the photo ops, one has to search very hard in the archives of the time to catch a fleeting glimpse of Rodman.

More Precious than Peace, by Peter W. Rodman (Scribner's, 654 pp., $35)

Mr. Lehman was Secretary of the Navy in the Reagan Administration. He is the author of Command of the Seas *and* Making War.

Like most sensible people, he fled government in the Carter years, spending them as a scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and assisting Kissinger in writing his memoirs. After the 1980 election he was immediately called in by Reagan to join the policy-planning staff at the State Department. Under George Shultz he became director of policy planning. In 1986 he joined the White House staff as deputy assistant, and then special assistant, to the President. There he served until 1990, when he departed to write this book.

More Precious than Peace is the very best kind of history. It is intended not as a monumental, comprehensive record of the Cold War, but rather as a history of that struggle as it took place in the Third World, which was the focus of Rodman's attention during his government service.

The first five chapters are a necessary tracing of the evolution of the Cold War from Woodrow Wilson and V. I. Lenin to the beginning of the Brezhnev era. Here Rodman takes the orthodox scholarly view rather too uncritically. His view of the Cuban Missile Crisis, for instance, sent me into Cheyne-Stokes breathing: "Kennedy's great success . . . was to force the withdrawal of the threatening rockets, head off the Berlin Crisis, and then engage Khrushchev in a more constructive dialogue." We now know that the opposite was true. As Professor Donald Kagan has documented, Kennedy's reaction to the Soviet missiles in Cuba was to offer secretly, through his brother Robert, enormous concessions, including pledges never to attack Cuba (thereby opening the way to the future activities of Che Guevara and the Sandinistas), and to unilaterally withdraw American missiles from Italy and Turkey (a move that plagued NATO for the next twenty years).

But this is mere quibbling. Parts II, III, and IV are the best explanation of the Reagan Administration's strategy in pursuing the downfall of the "evil empire" that we are likely to see for a long time. There are gaps in the picture, but not serious ones. It is no major criticism, for instance, to point out that Rodman's views of the internal workings of the Pentagon reflect both his innocence and the institutional and personal perspective of George Shultz's State Department. He is less than kind to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. And as in all honest books on the Reagan years there is the dog that doesn't bark, the often unseen hand of CIA Director Bill Casey, whom Rodman describes as "the only CIA director who didn't need a secure telephone for secret conversations, since his voice was already scrambled."

Casey's influence was much stronger in formulating and executing the Reagan strategy than the official record will ever tell. In Rodman's chapter on the Reagan Doctrine, for example, he quotes Bud McFarlane: "Not one nano-second" went into planning the Reagan Doctrine—the systematic support of guerrilla forces fighting against Third World Communist dictatorships. That conclusion is wrong. Bill Casey and Dick Allen ran regular planning meetings during the post-election transition in 1980 with a group including Fred Iklé, Richard Perle, and a few others, in which that very doctrine was planned in detail. Rodman does correctly note that it had no name until Charles Krauthammer christened it in 1985, declaring Reagan's policy to be a doctrine of "overt and unashamed American support for anti-Communist revolution." Except for his account of its origins, Rodman's exposition of the policy is excellent.

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Nowhere else will you find a more lucid and insightful account of the struggles in Angola, Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Central America in the Seventies and Eighties. Mr. Rodman writes like a storyteller, not a bureaucrat, and he captures very well the excitement of participating in the political revolution that transformed the American global defeatism of the Carter years into the optimism, activism, and ultimate Cold War victory of the Reagan years. He also is overmodest about his own role in helping to bring it all about. Throughout, Rodman reminds us that "no outcome in world affairs is ever foreordained. . . . On the contrary, the human element—the courage and intellectual qualities of individuals or their all too human absence—can determine the course of events." He proves his point. □

FILM

Wild and Wilder

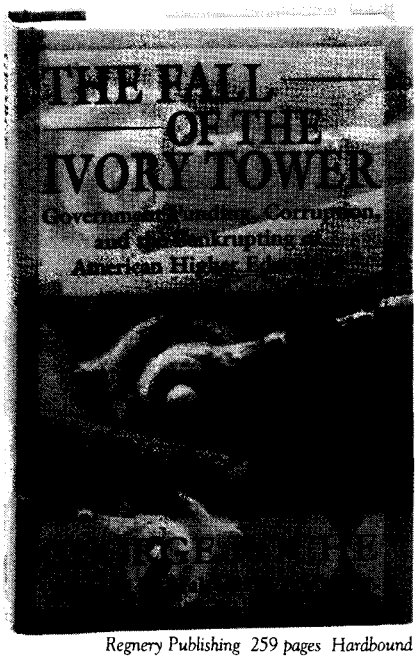
JOHN SIMON

BACK in 1969, I was less impressed than some, more impressed than others, by Sam Peckinpah's ***The Wild Bunch***. It seemed then—as now, upon its re-release in an uncut version—a Western that pushed violence to new extremes, that used its well-chosen landscapes superlatively, that had more local color than most, especially in its Mexican scenes. But it was also mired in confusion about both its plot and its characters. This confusion, now that we have become used to blood spurting from people who have been shot, or to the sense of melancholy overtaking these aging outlaws in 1913, seems even more palpable and obfuscatory.

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

Consider all that is being juggled here. There is a rapacious railroad boss whose office is robbed by the outlaw bunch under Pike Bishop's command; the shoot-out after the robbery—a trap set by Harrigan, the railroad tycoon—involves the killing in crossfire of any number of innocent bystanders. Harrigan's posse is led by Deke Thornton, who must bring back Pike dead or alive within a month, or be returned to jail. A former friend and gang member of the eponymous Wild Bunch, he feels bad about hunting down Pike, with whom a part of him still wants to ride —another cliché by now. Also chasing Pike's bunch is a contingent of U.S. Army greenhorns, who were guarding an arms-and-ammunition train Pike has robbed.

Pike robbed the train on behalf of a corrupt Mexican general, Malpache, who would pay in gold. But among Pike's men is Angel, a young Mexican Indian, who, with Pike's consent, diverts his share of the loot to his fellow Indian villagers to help them achieve some sort of independence. Malpache's soldiery is also attacked by Pancho Villa's rebels in a particularly murky scene. So we have, confoundingly, Mexicans versus Mexicans versus Indians versus the Wild Bunch versus the posse versus the U.S. Cavalry. Also some improbable German military advisors to



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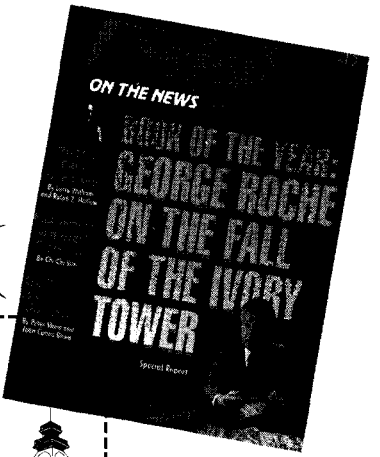

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Malpache. About the only thing missing is an appearance by B. Traven.

It is virtually impossible to follow what is going on, and who is shooting or doublecrossing whom. Much of the dialogue is in unsubtitled Spanish, and the gunfight scenes are of a dust-clouded opacity that some may find fascinating. The Peckinpah misogyny is in full swing: all women are whores, Judases, killers, or all three combined. To this is added a new theme: the laughing cruelty of children. Already in the title sequence we see a wildish bunch of ragamuffins who have thrown two scorpions into a basket with huge killer ants that are devouring them, whereupon the gleeful urchins set the entire insect battlefield on fire. Throughout, we see kids madly enjoying mayhem and torture, as often as not as enthusiastic participants.

There is not a truly sympathetic character in the bunch of them—the Wild Bunch or the other bunches—save an Indian village elder, who, however, is an ineffectual moralizer. The ten minutes of restored footage include a whorehouse scene with nudity, an adultery scene with more nudity (a man Pike is cuckolding returns unexpectedly to shoot his wife and wound Pike before cravenly escaping), and a scene where Pike learns that a young gang member whose life he callously sacrificed was the grandson of another, old and trusty, Wild Buncher. These things, like the other restored cuts, add little, but they do thicken the atmosphere and explain some of Pike's guilt feelings.

That ant-and-scorpion sequence is the key, insofar as there is one: dog eats dog and is, in turn, eaten by bigger dog. And none of these dogs is particularly likable, although Peckinpah, himself part Indian, sentimentalizes the dying Old West, with whose outlaws-turned-rueful-anachronisms he clearly identifies himself. All of which may sound shallow and old sombrero, and so it is; but there are also the wonderfully telling details, the bizarre marginal figures sharply observed, the striking visual contrasts in color and light, and a marvelous feel for men in a landscape—heroic renegades dwarfed by the manitou's mesas.

Yet the climactic final sequences are sheer rodomontade, however spectacular. Particularly unconvincing is Pike's death wish, improbably conveyed to (through telepathy?) and embraced by his three remaining henchmen, as the four take on Malpache's entire regiment, and take hundreds of men to Hades with them. There is also a curiously self-contradictory epilogue, and then shots of all major characters, the quick and the dead, laughing and laughing, just as there have been gales of buddy laughter all along. What does it mean? The comic absurdity of life and death, I suppose.

Even with the added flashbacks, none of the characters is fully fleshed out, though that is the besetting sin of most Westerns. Much is meant to be conveyed by significant looks, although those charged looks, too, are stock stuff, but perhaps a shade less platitudinous than the dialogue. William Holden is a winningly riven Pike; Robert Ryan is an equally winningly riven Deke; the others must depend on one identifying tic: the childishness of Warren Oates, the pawkiness of Edmond O'Brien, the bearishness of Ernest Borgnine, the tribal loyalty of Jaime Sanchez, the blue-eyed stare of Ben Johnson. And if the movie is saying that in a world of rotters the bandit is at least a damaged hero, I beg to differ.

■ As I keep saying, any film that does well at the Sundance Festival is ipso facto a dud; ***Before the Rain***, written and directed by the Macedonian Milcho Manchevski, is no exception. This is a pretentiously artsy concoction that plays tricks with chronology that do not fall into place, and that fails to create rounded, believable characters and situations. It profits from structural similarities to *Pulp Fiction*, a sorry thing to base one's success on.

In the first section, "Words," Kiril, a young monk in a Macedonian monastery who has taken a vow of silence, discovers Zamira, an Albanian Moslem girl in boy's clothing, hiding in his cell. She is running from a posse of Macedonian Christians from a neighboring village, one of whom she has, apparently, killed. (This is left cavalierly unclear.) The posse invades the monastery, wreaking havoc to the extent of machine-gunning the monastery cat for being a Moslem, though if ever there was a Greek Orthodox cat, this was it. Kiril immediately falls for Zamira; with the help of the monks, they escape together, but the girl is eventually shot by her own brother (heavy symbolism!).

In Section Two, "Faces," Anne, a London photograph agent, looks at pictures of the strife-torn Balkans taken by her lover, Aleksandar, a Macedonian photojournalist, among which are shots of Kiril and Zamira as we saw them in "Words." Aleksandar shows up, and he and Anne have sex in a moving taxi (the entire scene is shot as a reflection in the cab's window, superimposed on the passing London cityscape); but Anne finds it hard to commit herself to the fellow because she is also in love with her estranged husband, Nick. She and Nick discuss their problems in a restaurant where an ex-Yugoslav waiter somehow falls afoul of a patron who is his compatriot; the latter produces an Uzi and shoots the waiter and decimates the innocent clientele. Nick is among the dead. Aleksandar, incensed by Anne's hesitancy, returns to his Macedonian village, which he hasn't seen in 16 years.

Part Three, "Pictures," has Aleksandar involved with both his own Christian people and the neighboring Moslems, among them his ex-sweetheart, now widowed, with whom he hopes to reconnect. But the bloody religious divisions are such that he falls afoul of both factions, and ends up getting shot by his own people—more weighty symbolism. This section, "Pictures," takes place just before "Words," so how could Aleksandar, dead, have taken the pictures Anne was looking at in "Faces"?

Such non-sequiturs do not bother the reviewers. As Janet Maslin writes: "Neither . . . such loose ends nor the film's slight [!] straining of its rain metaphor diminishes the final impact of an overwhelming vision." The quality of critical mercy is not strained; it droppeth like the Macedonian rain from Heaven. Yet there is no end to the movie's artsy-fartsiness. In the London sequence, there are endless panning shots of traffic, pedestrians, urban bustle; in Macedonia, there are endless panning shots of filter-enhanced mountains, sea, sunsets, clouds, rain. It is a veritable whoring after visual significance, while the words remain self-inflatedly sophomoric.

Because no Macedonian could be found to play the spiritual, delicate young monk, a French actor was re-

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cruited; so Kiril is saddled with a vow of silence unshared by any of the other monks. That saves money on dubbing, and when, at last, he does utter a few dubbed words, what poignancy, what art! There is no reason for starting the London section with Anne in the shower, but a discreet nude scene, what artistry! The restaurant massacre is gorily overdirected, but the more violence you spell out—with however faulty orthography—the more "overwhelming" your "vision."

Rade Serbedzija, a leading ex-Yugoslav actor, is good, though a bit over the top, as Aleksandar; Katrin Cartlidge (last seen in Mike Leigh's dreadful *Naked*) is convincing as the vacillating Anne; the supporting cast of local characters exudes colorful authenticity. But *Before the Rain*, in its pretentiousness, is inauthentic. I find it fitting that Miss Maslin marvelingly compares Milcho Manchevski, with his "hauntingly oblique connections," to Krzysztof Kieslowski and Atom Egoyan, two of the smuggest phonies in today's barren cinema. □

SOUND ON DISC

Shall We Dance?

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

IN THE backwaters of World War II, I was assigned, among other duties, to give soldiers a course in "music appreciation," perhaps to mitigate the tedium of duty away from combat zones and Army nurses. For this I earnestly mimeographed detailed "program notes" on what to look for in those few recordings I was able to snag from Armed Forces Radio. But I soon discovered that what my "students" wanted most was the opportunity to listen to what had not been a part of their lives as civilians. So I limited myself to brief comments on the highlights and historical context of the music I played, and the lives of the composers. The more the soldiers listened, the less I lectured.

So in that spirit let me report that I have been listening with much pleasure to a three-CD album from Sony: *The Unreleased Studio Recordings* of Beethoven's piano sonatas, by the late Rudolf Serkin. In my youth as a writer on music, I used to worship as Serkin, Alexander Schneider, and that four-square expositor of Bach, Otto Klemperer, held forth at truly remarkable concerts at New York's Town Hall. I have always admired Serkin for the sensitivity of his touch and the sensibility of his interpretations. Much has been written about Beethoven's piano sonatas, and it has great pertinency, for they hold far more than the ear first recognizes. Serkin recorded the sonatas in this album over the years—and, perfectionist that he was, would not let them be edited for release; but we have them now. Of the nine sonatas in this collection—from Beethoven's first in F minor to the last great three, Op. 109, 110, and 111—five were never elsewhere recorded by Serkin.

Because he had an understanding of Beethoven that has escaped armies of Beethoven interpreters, there can only be great joy and pleasure in listening to Serkin's traversal of these works. The pity is that in this recording, as in many others, a degree of unpremeditated violence is done to Beethoven. The brilliance and resonance of the modern concert grand often interferes with the music, and this is particularly true of the last sonatas, which are really playable only on the fortepiano for which they were conceived. For authenticity and a real unfolding we must go to the brilliant and penetrating recordings of Paul Badura-Skoda.

■ As you listen to these recordings, there is an impulse to dance, the greatest impulse in music. That impulse persists when we listen to Roger Norrington's recording for EMI of Josef Haydn's London Symphonies, 101 (Clock) & 102, with the London Classical Players. The six symphonies that Haydn wrote at the end of his musical career, and at the height of his powers,

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make us realize how far ahead of the "classical" symphonists—and I include Mozart—he was. If you listen very closely, you will realize that the music to which Beethoven was listening, and from which he rose up, was Haydn and not Mozart, whatever the musicologists and the biographers may tell us. Norrington, who never succumbs to the temptation of making the older Haydn sound like the younger Beethoven, is the finest of those playing period music on period instruments, making newness by cleaving to the old.

■ Mozart's Paris Symphony in D major is the first in which he had at his disposal the full panoply of a contemporary orchestra, including, as he happily wrote to his father, two clarinets. With this larger palette he painted in broader strokes, breaking away from the strict rules of the "classical" symphony and moving in his own direction. The score is of the kind that Toscanini would have slaughtered, but in the hands of Claudio Abbado, a conductor of taste and restraint, and with the solid collaboration of the Berlin Philharmonic, the result is fully satisfying.

■ Beethoven's Eroica is clasped to the breast by many who, foolishly I think, flee from his Fifth—a work perhaps overplayed but still of rich and sterling quality. But the Eroica is, to my thinking, along with the Pastorale and the Fifth, the best of Beethoven's symphonies and eludes the pretensions of the Ninth. Carlo Maria Giulini's Sony recording with the La Scala Philharmonic is an excellent unbuttoning of the score.

■ On Virgin Classics, Christopher Warren-Green and the London Chamber Orchestra offer works by Edward Elgar and Ralph Vaughan Williams. The Elgar Allegro for Strings and the Serenade for String Orchestra are good traditionalist pieces. Vaughan Williams's Fantasia on "Greensleeves," lovely variations on a lovely theme, asks little of the listener but gives much nostalgia.

■ As an exercise in virtuosity, there is an eclectic selection by cellist Ennio Bolognini. The cello is an instrument to break hearts and fingers—and I have known cellists who rued the day they were enslaved by it. Bolognini did not revolutionize the playing of the instrument as Pablo Casals did, nor does he bring the subtleties of bowing and fingering that marked Casals's playing. But in this retrospective album issued by Muzelle—ranging from a Bach suite to the *Kol Nidrei*—Bolognini makes the cello sing.

■ *Passion*, with the second "s" reversed, seems to represent the new Broadway musical, so that one mourns for the days when audiences left the theater humming. The writer of music and lyrics is Stephen Sondheim, who in the past contributed to the lyricism of the musical stage but who seems to have forgotten how to do so. Here what you have is a series of repetitive "songs" as melodic as an elongated recitative. Yet Angel's Original Cast Recording can boast of the play's having received the 1994 Tony Award for Best Musical. It must have been an awful season. □

DELECTATIONS

A Call to (My) Arms

TAKI

AS I'VE NOTED here before, my favorite nightclub since El Morocco went the way of good manners is Annabel's, the Berkeley Square basement in London's West End. The reasons for this are many—perfect service, a beautiful old country-house decor, a strict dress code—but mainly it's that there one can still hold a girl in one's arms and sway to the music.

Dancing with women, in fact, must be one of the greatest pleasures in life. That depends, of course, on what one means by dancing. In my not so humble opinion, there are two types of dancing: the onanist and the normal. What I have to say refers solely to the latter type.

In 1939 Christopher Morley wrote that "dancing is wonderful training for girls because it's the first way they learn to guess what a man is going to do before he does it." Amen, but Mr. Morley forgot one thing. Dancing is even more wonderful for a man, because in his case he *really* learns to guess what a lady is going to do before she does it. My first memories of the fair sex are of watching a beautiful Frenchwoman by the name of Raymon dancing with my father all night in the Semiramis, a Greek resort hotel, followed by an almighty row between my parents.

Where the penny truly dropped, however, was in the south of France, on the Riviera, in 1952. I was 15 and accompanied by my parents, but it was the high life every night. Maxim's, the outdoor nightclub in Juan-les-Pins, and the Palm Beach Casino terrace in Cannes were my favorites. Everyone dressed to the nines and, needless to say, people danced to live orchestras. Waltzes, fox trots, and tangos were the norm, with a few sambas and rumbas thrown in for the more adventurous. Aly Khan, Porfirio Rubirosa, Stavros Niarchos, and André Dubonnet were among the slickest on the floor. How everyone danced and flirted! Dance was and is, of course, as much a reflection of the culture of a community as its art and literature; in fact, it is to some extent an expression of the social climate of its time. In those halcyon days—nights, rather—the dancing reflected impeccable manners and refined standards, as what passes for dancing today reflects vulgarity and cultural decadence.

When in 1957 I finally returned to the Riviera on my own, I was well prepared. El Morocco had been my training ground. For someone reared on ballroom dancing, the undying popularity of the waltz and fox trot was proof that the old qualities endured. These include man's gallantry toward woman, and a style that requires expertise without ostentation. Best of all, it gives the lead to the man while offering deference and respect toward the woman.

My favorite was the tango. This was and is an erotic dance. It first became popular with the less-than-respectable poor in Buenos Aires, and was ignored by anyone with pretensions to gentility. That was around the turn of the century. By the time I took it up, it

Taki Theodoracopulos is also a columnist for the New York Post *and the London* Spectator. *He is the author of* Nothing to Declare *(Atlantic Monthly Press).*

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was considered exotic, macho, and incredibly romantic. Up and across I slithered non-stop in a flight from reality, until 1963, when the twist suddenly put a damper on my terpsichorean talents.

Still, there were grand balls and parties in Paris, London, and New York, with orchestras that played only music to dance to, although becoming fewer and fewer as I got older and older. The end came when I went to a grand ducal house for a ball in 1987, and the only music offered was the cacophony of acid rock. You know the style. One crouches down, one's hips and pelvis work overtime like an Egyptian belly dancer's, one's knees are bent as if one were lifting weights, and all this without touching—at times not even seeing—the object of one's desire. If this is dancing, I'm a banana.

But back to Annabel's. One of the pleasures of my life is to finish a good dinner, drain a good glass of wine, and suddenly hear the haunting rhythm of "Begin the Beguine" or "Night and Day." It is then time for expressing and communicating emotion through movement. And there's a bonus. Although I've been known to have problems speaking when under the influence, drink has never inhibited my dancing. In fact dancing helps me recover my equilibrium. I can imagine someone falling down while dancing the onanist way but never while dancing the waltz or the tango. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Bridging the Sacred and the Secular: Selected Writings of John Courtney Murray, SJ, edited by J. Leon Hooper, SJ (Georgetown, 390 pp., $55)

JOHN Courtney Murray, the intellectual architect of the Second Vatican Council's historic Declaration on Religious Freedom, was the pre-eminent public theologian of twentieth-century American Catholicism. This new volume, only the second collection of Murray's writing to be published since his untimely death in 1967, brings together more than thirty of Murray's seminal essays and addresses on (among other topics) religious liberty, freedom of speech, the Christian idea of education, religious ecumenism, natural-law theory, and Catholic social thought on war and peace. Especially notable is his 1962 essay on "Federal Aid to Church-Related Schools," one of the last (and most important) of his remarkably prescient essays on church–state relations in America. Recognizing the legitimate (but then unpopular) claim of Catholic and Orthodox Jewish groups seeking government support for their parochial schools, that "the religious freedom of their members would be diminished" if such support were denied, Murray bolstered their contention that "it was in the public interest for the government to respect the freedom of parental choice, especially when religious beliefs motivate that choice." Liberal Jewish and Catholic opponents of "school choice" would do well to reflect upon this compelling argument today. This insightful collection, which does much to confirm and illuminate the enduring relevance of Murray's thought to the continuing debate on the religious and moral dimensions of American public life, should be read by believers, Christian and Jewish alike.

—DAVID DALIN

The Science of Desire: The Search for the Gay Gene and the Biology of Behavior, by Dean Hamer and Peter Copeland (Simon & Schuster, 272 pp., $23)

SCIENTIFIC papers are impersonal, specialized communications in which facts and arguments are compressed, while the methods used to obtain the facts, and the background for the arguments—precedents, logic, mathematics—are given in detail, so that the conclusions may be tested. Non-scientists may not see it thus; a fashion (e.g., among some who do "science studies") is to decry such writing as devious, because it does not tell the story "as it really happened." Here is an opportunity to compare some hard science, communicated in a paper that became a *cause célèbre*, with "what really happened." Elegant and demanding, the paper is reprinted here from *Science*, April 1993; the book recounts, and then meditates upon the significance of, the story—as it happened. The conclusion is that at least one gene, located on the X chromosome, contributes to the sexual orientation of males, i.e., that male homosexuality is to some extent inherited, and through the mother. This is quite as solid, and as unsurprising, as the conclusion that our genes determine the range of heights our children can attain. The full story does nothing to alter that view; but it does illuminate the arts of behavioral and molecular genetics. This conclusion has caused fits among those on both ends of the political spectrum who feel science should be subordinated to politics. Would that books like this were read by the paroxysm-prone; but they're not. Fulminations and T-shirt slogans ("Xq28—THANKS, MOM!") are more fun.

—PAUL R. GROSS

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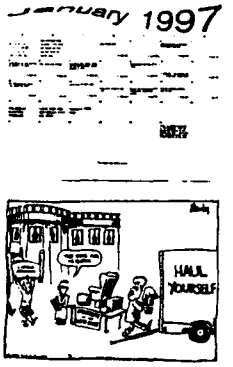

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KING

(Continued from page 56)

would have remained silent, fearing a fanatical refusal to obey in the wake of a landing in the Home Islands. If the Allies had thus faced the prospect of having to go through with Operation Coronet, one suspects President Truman would have reconsidered the decision not to employ the bomb. (Targets in January 1946 would probably still have included Hiroshima, but not Nagasaki. Now isolated in northern Kyushu, Nagasaki could not have served as a visible lesson to the Japanese warlords holding out on Honshu.) With luck, the effect would have been as it was in our August 1945, and the *Missouri* would still, but only barely, have been able to make its trip to Istanbul.

I say "with luck" because a post–Operation Olympic atomic bombardment might not have had the same effect as the bombardment that actually took place. In our world, the emperor's cabinet intervention triggered a junior-officer rebellion that came dangerously close to success; at one point rebel forces actually controlled the palace grounds. The same could all too easily have happened under the even more psychologically trying conditions of a post-Olympic world, and this time the fanatics might have succeeded, as they had done only ten years before, in the "February 26 incident" of 1936, which saw several elder statesmen murdered for being too "soft" toward China. As in 1936, the rebels would undoubtedly have acted in the belief they were saving the emperor from the treachery of his counselors. In that event, the *Missouri* and many other warships besides would still have been off Honshu in March 1946.

Even if Japan had surrendered in January 1946 and Operation Coronet had been avoided in the nick of time, the aftermath might still have included losing the Cold War in Europe. America would have been deeply enmeshed in China's civil war. As our experience with Vietnam shows, major involvement in an Asian war can strain our ability to maintain even the most established commitments to European defense. In an alternative world of Japanese surrender in January 1946, America would have been engaged in supporting the Chinese Nationalists before any commitment to containing Communism in Europe had even been made. In those circumstances, it is probable that not even Truman would have taken the now much greater political risk required to pick up Britain's baton in Turkey and Greece in 1947, and then pursue more radical ventures such as the Marshall Plan in 1948 and the formation of NATO in 1949.

Without these American initiatives, continental Europe would undoubtedly have been lost to "Finlandization," or worse, by 1950. The ensuing Cold War would have been fought on far more disadvantageous terms, as France, Italy, and, most crucially, all of Germany would have lain on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain. Bretton Woods would have disintegrated before 1950; there never would have been a GATT or an EEC; and it is difficult to imagine how America and Britain alone could have sustained the sort of concerted effort that proved necessary in our world to bring on the Soviets' final *crise de régime*.

Undoubtedly, my defense of the ethical correctness of the atomic bombings will be dismissed by some as an exercise in pointless speculation about "might-have-beens." This charge is silly, because making judgments about the rights and wrongs of past actions necessarily requires speculation about might-have-beens and might-have-dones. Unless we embrace a determinist view of history, or an ethic based on the most naïve reading of the Sermon on the Mount, we must speculate, on an informed basis, about the likely consequences of choosing an alternative instead of the course actually taken. The difficult task is determining *how* likely are the consequences of choosing an alternative, an especially troublesome point in the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki because Emperor Hirohito took the secret of his cabinet intervention with him to the grave.

But if uncertainty complicates our task, it should also remind us that the decision-makers of 1945 confronted uncertainty as well. All President Truman and his advisors knew for sure was that Japanese resistance had grown more ferocious precisely as the prospects of success faded, and that continuing the war even for a few months would have meant a human catastrophe throughout East Asia. These facts (*not*, as some critics assert, the desire to intimidate Stalin) convinced Secretary of War Stimson, who in turn convinced President Truman, that only "shock treatment" had a chance of bringing Japan to her senses and avoiding the calamity of continued war, and that the atomic bomb represented an opportunity to administer such a shock that could not responsibly be forgone. It is a measure of the horror of World War II that President Truman's decision to condemn two cities with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants to the awful fate of nuclear destruction was, nonetheless, the right choice. □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 6)

increasing perversities and ironies in our culture. In "MIS.MIS" [Dec. 31] Miss King's random thoughts took several "kill shots" at today's issues and even added a new wrinkle to my brain. Anyone who agrees with Miss King's observations (and I do) about permissiveness and liberalism and the example she marshals can't be surprised by Mr. Giuliani's treason to the Republican Party during last year's election. As for the wrinkle, I have to thank Miss King for the learning opportunity; her literary reference to Van Diemen's Land sent me on a short research effort from which I am still chuckling to myself. (If our educators could be half as interesting and fun, American youngsters would be considerably more literate.)

These two essays contain some of the most uncommon common sense I've seen in a long time. Miss King has an uncanny ability to turn a phrase which shocks or amuses, yet utterly distills "the truth" to its essence.

Michael F. Hall
Irving, Tex.

Don't Be Mean to Carter

Such as they are, the poems in *Always a Reckoning* are vastly superior to John Simon's vicious review ["Plains Talk, in Verse," Feb. 20]. No matter what his flaws, Jimmy Carter does not deserve the flippant mockery. If his poems "testify to the niceness of a guy talking about people," Mr. Simon proves his own meanness in writing about Carter as he does—and about Sarah Choldenko, Carter's granddaughter, the "award-winning . . . high-school artist" who illustrated the book. Mr. Simon's remark, that "it is good to know that not only talent but also its opposite can be inherited," directed at a teenager and her "proud grandfather," is beneath contempt.

Louis J. Elteto
Portland, Ore.

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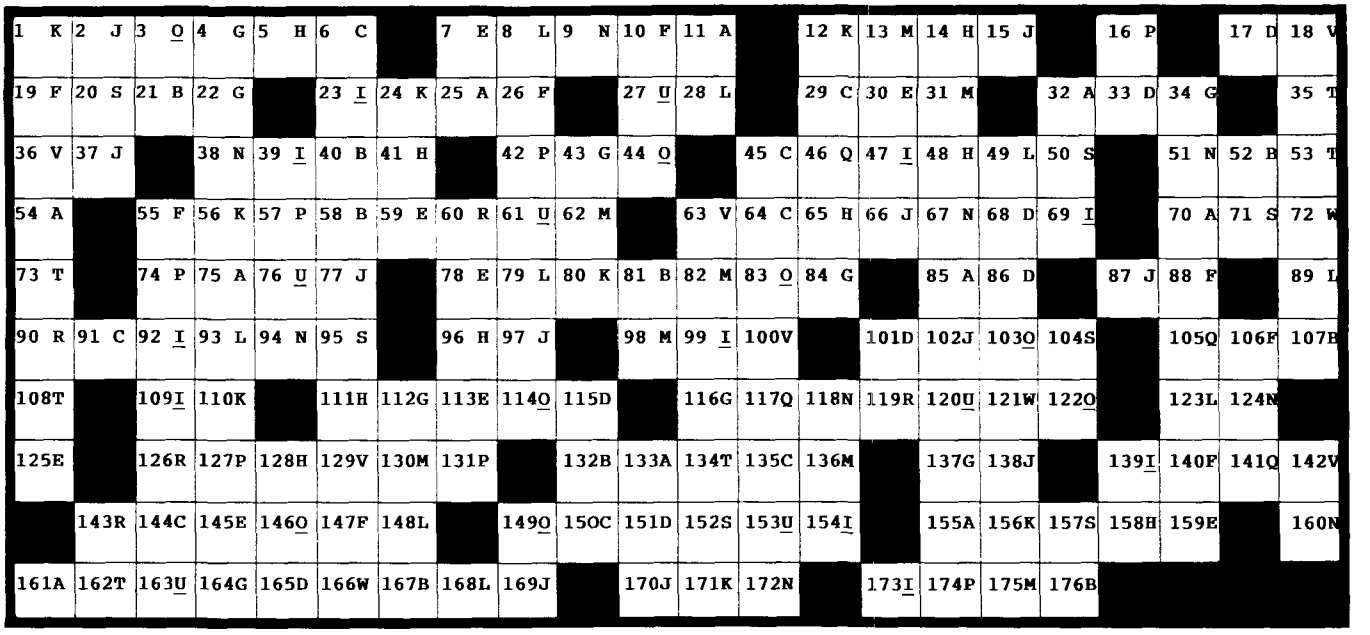
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Ma Barker, so to speak—far from apple pie — 11 161 85 75 54 155 133 70 32 25

B. Roman route (2 words) — 107 81 58 167 40 21 132 52 176

C. Traditional city abode — 135 150 91 29 64 144 45 6

D. Fluorescent crawler — 115 101 86 17 33 68 165 151

E. Fit for sports — 125 159 78 59 30 145 113 7

F. Like a pronounced beat — 147 140 26 88 106 19 10 55

G. NT book — 112 4 43 164 84 137 116 34 22

H. One kind of sketch — 41 158 48 128 111 65 14 96 5

I. Partisan watchword — 154 99 109 173 23 47 69 92 139 39

J. Cheap — 66 87 169 170 15 97 102 138 77 2 37

K. Sometimes it can attract — 56 80 1 24 110 156 12 171

L. Country-music city — 168 79 28 89 93 123 49 8 148

M. Tenth-century English monarch — 82 98 13 62 130 31 136 175

N. Sir Neville Marriner's domain — 118 172 160 51 94 124 38 67 9

O. Recently discovered — 114 44 149 103 3 146 83 122

P. Inspiring — 16 74 131 42 174 57 127

Q. Maine seaport — 117 141 105 46

R. Bid — 90 143 126 60 119

S. Plundered — 95 152 71 20 157 104 50

T. Pub of old — 108 35 53 134 73 162

U. In one piece — 27 153 120 76 163 61

V. Gas-station concern — 18 63 142 129 36 100

W. Born, in France — 166 121 72

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. ALAN SIMPSON: *Lincolnesque*: "Lincoln represents so much more to America than that which is reflected in his personal qualities alone. His presence in the Presidency at the hour of supreme crisis for the nation is a comfort to our historical memory."

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Gramm's Challenge

NEW YORK, MARCH 7

Phil Gramm did not wow them in New Hampshire at that first meeting when all the candidates got to speak for eight minutes. The young activists in the audience aspirated with tremulous pleasure when he said, "I was conservative before conservatism was cool." The problem is that people don't vote for you in gratitude for the length of time you have reasoned correctly on public issues.

Consider the different public attitudes toward the President who kept a country out of war, and the President who engaged in a war and won it. Presidents who brought their country back from a depression are venerated, never mind that the depression, or its longevity, was heavily their own responsibility. So what does Candidate Gramm offer that can make the blood tingle?

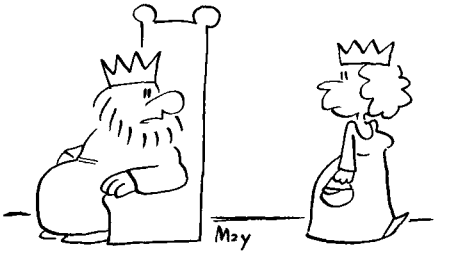
And then there is the vision-thing. A week or so back, at a television forum crowded with brainy figures, the taunt was leveled that one critic lamented the loss of the nineteenth century. It seemed that merely to make the point was to score. Who wants to go back to the nineteenth century? Nobody, if what you mean by the nineteenth century is no cars, airplanes, TV, air conditioning, or penicillin. If what you mean by the nineteenth century is united families, enduring marriages, a near-universal commitment to transcendent faith, and a sense of raw excitement over the exercise of freedom, then, yes, it is right to bemoan the passage of the nineteenth century.

Phil Gramm has a problem nicely identified by political scientist Edward Banfield in *The Unheavenly City*: the Monday/Tuesday problem. The liberal-populist is promising you something that will be delivered on Monday (free health care). The conservative is preoccupied with Tuesday. If you diet on Monday, on Tuesday you will be healthier. If you save on Monday, on Tuesday you will reap the benefit. If you reorient welfare policies on Monday, on Tuesday you will have a crack at rescuing an underclass from what appears to be ineluctable growth.

The problem in particular has to do with departure from the status quo. Americans have become used to the accretions of welfarism. Our taxes are deducted at the wellhead: we never see the money withdrawn, and we come to think of it as a mere statistical abstraction. The subsidies that flow out of Washington maintain legions of beneficiaries appeased, and here is the conservative candidate ready to disturb that somnolence!

The challenge of Gramm is to reawaken those instincts that are gratified by freedom. Jack Kemp, when he was a candidate, used to whisk out of his briefcase a large, graphic map depicting the bureaucratic stages through which someone who wished to build a house needed to travel before actually laying down the cornerstone. Two dozen agencies, preoccupied with the environment, labor contracts, zoning laws—amounting, in the end, to as much as 30 per cent of the cost of the dwelling. The radical conservative wants to trim that back sharply. But to generate excitement in that process requires two stages of awakening, the first, to make felt, make palpable what it is you no longer have—fine public education, safety in the streets, enduring families—followed by the prospective excitement of recapture.

That is a tall psychological order. Senator Dole, facing the same crowd in New Hampshire, offered himself less as a social transformer than as a super-competent technician, which indeed he is, though the confrontation in New Hampshire came just a week before super-technician Dole failed to bring off a favorable vote for the Balanced Budget Amendment. Still, one-more-mission Dole has the advantage of letting the voter focus on those aspects of his life that are relatively untroubled. We are not at war, there is no depression, there are a great many Americans who don't get mugged, raped, or shot: so why not focus on that, and promise that you will exhibit the skills necessary to keep the stolidities of life in order?



"If you're going shopping, collect some taxes on the way back."

It isn't really Gramm who is to blame for the vitality of torpor. Whether he can call people to life from that condition is entirely another question than whether the Republic would benefit from the awakening. □

President Clinton: Short of Troops

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 28

You start a small construction company and sign a contract to build a new PX at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland. Two weeks into the six-month enterprise the Teamsters, who govern the trade union you work with, call a strike. You go through the usual procedures, you bargain, you offer to submit to arbitration, but the union says no, it wants 15 per cent this year, 10 the next, 10 the year after, or no work. In desperation, you send out the word: you are looking for 35 carpenters, masons, and electricians who will come to work for you. A month goes by and finally you assemble the team you need. You resume work.

Oh no you don't. Because President Clinton will have signed an executive order banning the use of replacement workers by federal contractors. Vice President Al Gore, appearing before AFL-CIO leaders in Bal Harbour, Florida, promised that that step would be taken by the President.

On whose authority?

Caesar's.

But surely such questions as this are adjudicated by Congress? Didn't Congress decline, in the last session, to pass a law requested by the big labor unions that would have outlawed the use of replacement workers? Yes it did. Who urged Congress to pass that law? President Clinton. Since Congress said no, President Clinton is passing the law on his own, to the extent he thinks he can get away with it, given his authority over federal enterprises. While he was at it, why didn't he impose the Clinton health plan on federal workers, given that Congress failed to pass it? Perhaps he overlooked that possibility.

What else did Mr. Gore promise the AFL-CIO?

He said that President Clinton would

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prohibit government agencies from making contracts to buy goods or services from companies that had permanently replaced workers who had gone out on strike. That means that if Kellogg's were to hire replacement workers after an impasse, our soldiers, sailors, and Marines could not be served Corn Flakes.

Anything else? Oh yes. Labor Secretary Robert Reich would be authorized to halt existing contracts with companies that hired replacement workers. So the construction company at Andrews Air Force Base could find that its contract had been rescinded. It is edifying to ask, What is a contract, if not a binding agreement between parties?

Anything else? Yes: the secretary of labor would be authorized to bar future government contracts with any company that had hired replacement workers. Given that the government is far and away the biggest purchaser of everything from stealth bombers to condoms, what that means is very simply that practically no company could ever again hire replacement workers.

And what that means is that the law Congress refused to pass, Mr. Clinton will for all intents and purposes have enacted. We are left to consider two questions. The first is, Who told Clinton that the President of the United States can circumvent the authority of Congress to regulate commerce? The second—and perhaps incidental—question is: Should we be grateful to the President for taking into his own hands the adjudication of a question on which Congress has refused to act? I mean, President Lincoln freed the slaves without asking Congress for permission to do so. On the other hand he was relying on his wartime powers as Commander-in-Chief. It is not likely that in days to come historians will moralize that Mr. Clinton correctly took power into his own hands to ordain a manifest human right.

When Congress deliberated the question and heard testimony, the majority reasonably concluded that just as a worker has the indisputable right to pull out of a job, and the right to engage in collective bargaining, so there has to be a right, in the event of impasse, for a company to seek to continue in business. If that company succeeds in bringing other workers to accept its offer of pay and working conditions, the assumption has got to be that it has observed the rule of a free society: willing employer, willing employees.

Abraham Lincoln began by pleading his authority as Commander-in-Chief, exercised, he added, ". . . in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States." Mr. Clinton mistakes the action of the voters last November for an armed rebellion, giving him this extra-constitutional authority. Well, last November's rebellion was not armed, and it is unlikely that its consummation in November 1996 will be blocked by reserves of AFL-CIO union officials conscripted by General Clinton. □

Teleread In Your Future?

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 24

It is generally acknowledged that Newt Gingrich has one foot in cyberspace. A few weeks ago he wondered out loud whether it wouldn't pay to enable every schoolchild to have a computer. More recently he warned about the polarization of the affluent and the poor, magnified by computer science. "There's a very grave danger that the upper middle class has the resources so that their child gets a PC at 5 years of age, their children get on Internet, their child gets virtual reality. . . . We have got to think through a way of bringing the poor into the information age. If it's done right, you will dramatically expand and improve learning for the poor and you will open opportunities in an immense way."

Here are the rudiments of the situation:

—We publish about 45,000 books every year. This means that major public libraries have to expand hugely, and spend great sums of money on books. Only a small percentage of these books—many of which are remaindered well before the year is out—land up on school desks of the poor. In D.C., one-half billion dollars was spent in a recent year on schools, two million on books.

—The technology is around the corner to make books available to anyone owning the correctly designed computer.

—The advantages of such a computer grow exponentially. Only a fortnight ago Speaker Gingrich baptized a new information service, "Thomas," in honor of Thomas Jefferson, bibliophile. That service is prepared to furnish anyone who has a computer and a modem the full text of all pending legislation, background material on such legislation, the text of debates on proposed measures. Somewhat similar technology could be used for many purposes, including electronic books.

—Authors and publishers have got to be compensated for their work.

These are the givens that author/editor David Rothman focuses on when he talks of TeleRead. TeleRead would:

—Start small, under market orientation. The major manufacturers of PCs would submit competitive bids to produce the cheapest appropriate portable computer. Says Rothman: "The best machine should be light, have color and sound, and a minimum storage space of at least one gigabyte—that's enough to store hundreds of books the size of *Gone with the Wind*."

—Arrange with the government to enable schools and libraries to lend these computers to students. This would cost a small percentage of what is currently spent by government on public education. In D.C., $10,000 per student per year is being spent, which is a pretty high price to pay for illiteracy.

—Encourage production of the same machines for the private market. We could use such machines for electronic forms to save tens of billions of dollars each year by reducing paperwork in government.

—Compensate authors and publishers for the electronic retrieval of their books by readers. A schedule of tariffs would reflect the economies effected by computer technology. The cost of paper is one-third the cost of publishing.

David Rothman does not smile on the alternative offered by the Clinton Administration. That proposal would deprive public libraries of the right to transmit copyrighted books over computer networks. Instead, students at home would end up making do with CD-ROMs and floppies, in the age of Internet the equivalent of requiring everyone who listens to music to buy 78-rpm shellac records. What will the children dial in to read? The collected speeches of Mr. Gore? And believe it or not, there is also talk of the Postal Service getting involved in local public libraries through information kiosks.

TeleRead is an inspired idea, and David Rothman is a man of practical inclination. The big job ahead, of course, would be the scanning of millions of books, but that technology also obliges us, with scanners that will turn the pages of the books they scan, greatly reducing the cost of manual labor.

The world Rothman describes is coming, and he shrewdly points out that the fax machine and e-mail outwitted and frustrated even the comprehensive revolutionary orders of Stalin and Mao. This side of what used to be the Iron Curtain, we should have the resources to handle our native bureaucracy. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Pseudofeminism

IF YOU WANT to hear the ultimate feminist horror story, I've got it. This past Christmas season I had my annual telephone gabfest with my best girlfriend from college. These calls are always very informative because she keeps up with everybody and goes to alumnae events. It's never long before we turn very girlish, starting sentences with "You'll never guess" and exclaiming "Oh, honestly!" Last year was no different, except that one of her news items kicked off with: "You'll never guess who's thinking of going to law school."

That's an easy one if you're talking about the general population; of 260 million Americans, only 17 are not thinking about going to law school, so you could name just about anybody and be right. But we weren't talking about the general population. We were talking about girls who were in college from 1953 to 1957, now the target audience for bladder-control products advertised by June Allyson. Or to put it another way: tempus fidgets.

My friend named a name that rang a faint bell. I thought back in what I used to call "mounting dread" when I wrote gothics, until I placed her. She was a junior when we were freshmen, so that meant she was sixty. S-i-x-t-y.

Now that I had a new Ultimate Feminist Horror Story, I had to bump an earlier one back to Penultimate Feminist Horror Story. The previous one was about the uproar over the laxative commercial that featured a roll of unused toilet paper.

You remember it. It was one of those new understated ads, like the luxury car sitting in the middle of nowhere, that are supposed to make everyone feel subtle. The camera zoomed in on a full roll of toilet paper in a bathroom dispenser, and a sign reading "Day 1." The sign changed to "Day 2 . . . Day 3 . . . Day 4 . . . " and so on, but still the roll remained full, obviously untouched because unneeded. Then the laxative was shown and extolled, whereupon we saw the roll unrolling at top speed, proof that the laxative worked.

Feminists were "outraged." The ad was sexist, they said, because the scenario was obviously limited to constipated men. A constipated woman would still use a certain amount of toilet paper every day, they said, but by ignoring this fact, the ad implied that constipated women were not only unimportant, but invisible.

"There's no woman living in that house!" wailed one feminist, as if that in itself were sexist. "Don't they even have women guests?" demanded another, then compared the bathroom in the ad to the male huts of Polynesia. At no time in the brouhaha did they consider that for the ad to work, the toilet paper had to remain untouched. Several talk-show opponents reminded them of this, but the outraged feminists replied, "That doesn't matter. Women use toilet paper every day."

"But it's not a toilet-paper ad, it's a laxative ad."

"That doesn't matter. Look at the pissoirs of Paris. There're no comparable conveniences for women because men think it's funny when a woman has to go and can't. Men don't want women to go, that's why they refuse to stop on long car trips. Look at Jean Harlow. She died of uremic poisoning because they wouldn't let her go."

That's when I lost it. Forgetting that I was sitting beside an open window, I yelled at the TV, "Her mother was a Christian Scientist! The toilet paper has to keep still!" The next day, a neighbor gave me an odd look and thereafter left the laundry room as soon as I walked in.

The toilet-paper debate was such that it bumped back everything else that had ever sent me around the bend, making it impossible for me to identify my Antepenultimate Feminist Horror Story. It's just as well. My Latin is rusty; I don't know what, if anything, comes after—or rather before—antepenultimate, and I need a lot of categories to continue in this vein. Women are handling feminism so badly that I would have to spend all my time bumping things back to secure my Ultimate Feminist Horror Story before something else came along and dislodged it.

I have no quarrel with feminism as long as it's real feminism, but what we have endured this past quarter-century is pseudofeminism.

Pseudofeminists talk aggressiveness but practice timidity. Take sexual harassment. Every time I turn on the news some woman is describing, with murky insouciance, that terrible day ten years ago when her self-esteem was shattered because her male boss kept looking at her "body parts" instead of her face. A real feminist would say, "I'm up here, Mr. Crabtree," and that would be the end of it. If you say it right, you only have to say it once.

A REAL feminist understands that men cannot be expected to admire in the female sex the very qualities they despise in their own. They may sing the praises of "femininity" but in truth they have nothing but contempt for softness, restraint, and suffering in silence. The woman who makes it clear that she also is contemptuous of these traits reminds men so much of themselves that they will admire her even as they thank God they're not married to her.

Pseudofeminists also have infused sexual harassment with their signature tunnel vision. In Muriel Spark's novel *Loitering with Intent*, the heroine, analyzing why she liked a foul-mouthed man that other women found offensive, thinks: "Vulgarity I could take from him or, if he had been alive today, the sixteenth-century Benvenuto Cellini, because these were big sane men."

That some men can get away with anything while others make even "damn" sound dirty is a fine distinction beyond the analytical powers of pseudofeminists. Instead they think like Susan Faludi, who wrote in *Backlash*: "If the American man can claim no ancestral coat of arms on which to elevate himself from the masses, perhaps he can fashion his sex into a sort of pedigree." There you have it. Equality is why women aren't equal; American men do bad things for heraldic reasons; the bar sinister creates the bastard instead of the other way around.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's has just published The Florence King Reader, *an anthology.*

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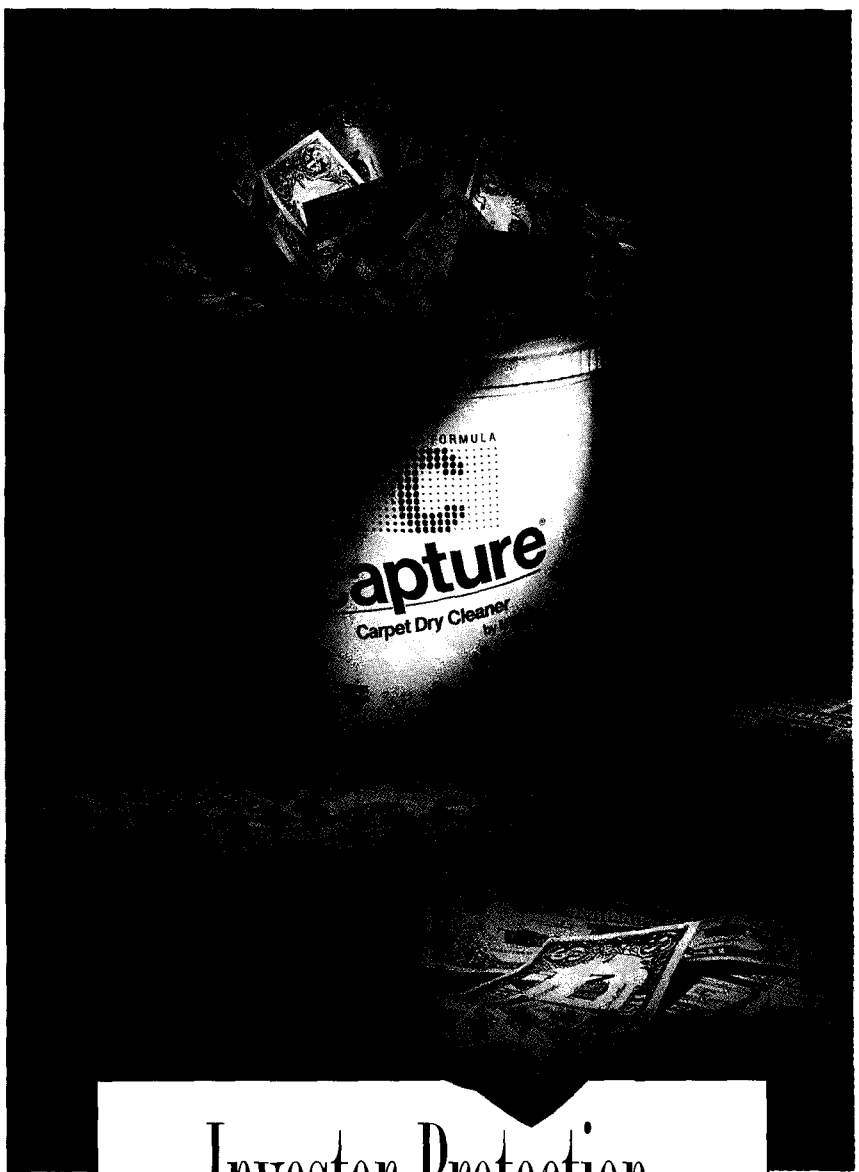

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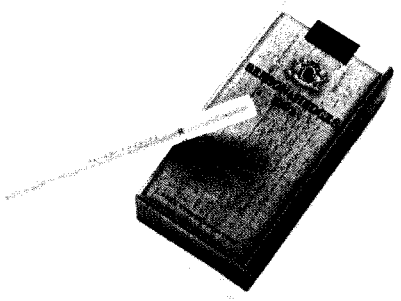

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